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THE HISTORY of the COMMONWEALTH and CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY

Brian Underwood

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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the origins and development of the Commonwealth and Continental Church Society throughout the world. It is a product of the Anglican Evangelical missionary enthusiasm of the early nineteenth century. It began as an educational organization but became a general missionary movement among our own people abroad. The nineteenth century saw the settlement and growth of Britain's colonial Empire and the significance of the Society lies in its efforts to send chaplains, lay-readers and teachers to spiritually 'destitute' British people, whether residents or travellers, in the Colonies or on the Continent of Europe - wherever they called for help.

The work of the Society is set in its historical and theological background including the influences prior to 1823 (when it was founded) which led to the establishment of the two parent Societies. There follows a survey of the main movements, personalities and problems; and then, in chapter 6, there is a discussion of the key problems, an evaluation of the contribution of the Society to the expansion and life of the Church and a suggestion of its rôle as an Evangelical Society during the latter part of the twentieth century.

Supplementary material, placed in the Appendices, includes a survey of movements from 1951-71; the Home Organization; the Constitutions and subsequent changes; a list of Bishops given to the Church by the Society; the relations of the Society to other Societies and Churches and a list of the Bishops holding the Bishop of London's permanent commission for northern Europe.

Footnotes are included at the ends of chapters; references will be found at the back between pages 193-237.

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OUTLINE of the FORMATION of the COMMONWEALTH and CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY

The Newfoundland Society for Educating the Poor (Newfoundland School Society), 30 June 1823.

The Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor, 13 May 1829.

The Church of England Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland and the Colonies, 30 June 1846.

The Western Australia Missionary Society, 30 September 1835

The Australian Church Missionary Society (before publication of the first Report).

The Colonial Church Society, 15 May 1838.

The Colonial Church and School Society, 1 January, 1851.

The Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1 May, 1861.

The Commonwealth and Continental Church Society, 1 July 1958.

ABBREVIATIONS

NSS	Newfoundland School Society
N & BNASS	Newfoundland and British North American School Society
WAMS	Western Australia Missionary Society
ACMS	Australian Church Missionary Society
CCS	Colonial Church Society
CCSS	Colonial Church and School Society
CCCS	Colonial and Continental Church Society
C & CCS	Commonwealth and Continental Church Society
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
PECUSA	Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America
BC-AS	Bush Church-Aid Society
CCR	Colonial Church Record
Min.	Minute
OP	Occasional Paper
RA	The Real Australian

PREFACE

The Commonwealth and Continental Church Society began as an educational organization founded by Samuel Codner in London in 1823 and known as the 'Newfoundland School Society'. From the beginning it was proposed to extend the work to the mainland of British North America and in 1829, in anticipation, its name was changed to the 'Newfoundland and British North American Society for the Education of the Poor'. It underwent a further change of name in 1846 to the 'Church of England Society for the Education of the Poor of Newfoundland and the Colonies'. The intention was to create an Education Society for the whole Colonial Church.

Meanwhile, Captain Frederick Irwin, Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Western Australia, interested a group of prominent lay Evangelicals in the plight of the colonists at the Swan Settlement of Western Australia which led to the founding, in London in 1835, of the 'Western Australia Missionary Society'. Within a year this had become the 'Australian Church Missionary Society' - a title it retained until 1838 when it became the 'Colonial Church Society'.

These two Societies amalgamated on the 1 January 1851 to form the 'Colonial Church and School Society under the leadership of the Rev. Mesac Thomas (afterwards Bishop of Goulburn, Australia). The intention was to establish a principal Society attracting the support of the whole Evangelical body of the Church of England (as the Church Missionary Society did for the heathen and the Church Pastoral-Aid Society did for home missions). Ten years later its name was changed to the 'Colonial and Continental Church Society' (the name 'Commonwealth' was substituted for 'Colonial' on 1 July 1958). What had started as an educational organization had become a general missionary movement among our own people abroad.

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1. ORIGINS OF MINISTRY TO EXPATRIATES

I.1.1. Early Growth

The sixteenth century Reformation not only terminated the control of the English Church by what was in reality an Italian national Church, but also exchanged the ultra-paternalism of the old order for the ultra-individualism of the new order. Protestantism and individualism came to be synonymous. At this time ministry to English people abroad, chiefly in Europe, grew sporadically and largely through individual lay effort. There was at first no planned growth or supervision.

Evidence can be found of English settlement on the Continent, particularly in Holland, following the favourable decree passed by the Dutch in 1578 to encourage the introduction of manufactured cloth and wollen goods.⁽¹⁾ English, Irish and Scottish merchant families (here we can see a growing sense of responsibility among laymen), encouraged by the religious concessions ^(A) offered by the Dutch Government, engaged their own chaplains. For example, the Isle of Walcheren alone had three flourishing English congregations and there was settled ministry in Vere, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dortrecht, Delft and The Hague. ⁽²⁾

The Low Countries became the refuge of persecuted minorities. Episcopalians fled here under the Marian persecution, and others during the troublesome times of the Stuarts: all joined with their Presbyterian countrymen for the English-language worship. ⁽³⁾ Elizabeth I sent 6,000 troops under the Earl of Leicester to assist the United Provinces against the tyranny of Philip II of Spain, and chaplains were provided for the regiments of English and Scottish soldiers garrisoned in Holland. The English Ambassador was given permission for the use of a former Roman Catholic Chapel of the Sacrament Hospital in Nordeinde in The Hague from December 1585-7, so that his chaplain could hold services for the men of the Earl of Leicester. ⁽⁴⁾ Ambassadors frequently had their own chaplains ⁽⁵⁾ as did Elizabethan sea captains. ^(B) The East India Company (established in 1600) chaplains were later appointed to shore establishments to care for the growing number of English communities. ⁽⁶⁾ ^(C)

In time these clergy serving abroad formed themselves into a body called 'The synod of the British clergy in the United Provinces.' There were British churches in twenty-one towns including Brussels, Bruges and Ostend.⁽¹⁾

Owing to the mixed nature of the English foreign congregations there was often 'extreme liberty as regards the character of the services', and there were frequent complaints by loyalists of the Established church. Attempts therefore were made to reduce the foreign clergy to conformity.⁽²⁾ In May 1628, Charles I issued through his Ambassador six Articles^(A) to the Synod of the English and Scottish clergy in the Netherlands. William Laud (Bishop of London 1628-33 and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) was anxious to secure control of these foreign congregations for the English bishops (see p.115 Note D) and in August 1632 the Ambassador (William Boswell) was asked to investigate the affairs of the church in Holland with a view to bringing it under proper authority. On 26 May 1633 Charles I issued an Order in Council to the Merchant Adventurers:

'Whereas the King's intention never was that any Company residing in foreign parts should exempt themselves from the government of the Church and State, the King wills the Company not to entertain any minister...but only such as are conformable.'⁽³⁾

An Order in Council of 1 October 1633 to the Merchant Adventurers directed that their appointments should have Royal approval,⁽⁴⁾ and established the Bishop of London as the Diocesan of the Company of Merchant Adventurers in Delft and Hamburg 'in all things concerning theire[sic] church government'.^{(5)(B)} From this time all clergy serving overseas had to hold the Bishop of London's licence, and shortly afterwards all English army chaplains were brought under his jurisdiction.⁽⁶⁾

Henry Compton, as Bishop of London in the 1670s and 80s actively exercised jurisdiction over anglican communities in America.⁽⁷⁾ And so 'from the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Bishop of London held spiritual and canonical jurisdiction over anglican communities overseas, whether colonial dependencies or otherwise.'^{(8)(C)} W.F. France, in his history of the Colonial Bishops Fund, observes that 'this was the initial and most damaging mistake which shackled progress for some two centuries.'⁽⁹⁾ He suggests that pastoral care was improperly lodged for a bishop to live at the other end of the world from his diocese.⁽¹⁰⁾ Attempts were made to provide episcopal leadership for the growing British communities abroad but they were all thwarted, because of the need of Parliamentary approval, and when in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded, leadership passed to the voluntary society. ⁽¹¹⁾

I.1.2. The Growth of Voluntary Societies

The Church of England was a state Church and the spiritual care of the colonies was considered to be the prerogative of the crown. Religious authority was dependent upon temporal authority and consequently restrictions were placed on the Church's freedom to act. This is illustrated as we have seen in the development of the Bishopric of London under the crown. Protestant missionary enthusiasm had to find private forms: voluntary associations of individuals both lay and clerical with a common objective and for united action. The religious societies, which sprang up in parallel movements on the Continent and in England, were the antecedents of the missionary societies.⁽¹⁾ They inspired Dr. Bray, founder of both the SPCK and the SPG.⁽²⁾ The age of the Restoration reacted against the stern puritanism of the preceding period and the societies for the reformation of morals and personal religion were in themselves a prolific reaction against Restoration excesses. The formation of societies for voluntary missionary effort ~~was~~ was the expansion of the Protestant Colonial world, was only a step away. F.W.B. Bullock quotes J.H. Overton as saying that a contemporary bishop referred to the early nineteenth century as 'this age of Societies',⁽³⁾ and he himself says that by the end of the eighteenth century all attempts at foreign missionary work were made and controlled by these 'ecclesiolae in ecclesia'.⁽⁴⁾

The prototype of all voluntary missionary societies was 'The New England Company',^(A) - a Cromwellian Society. It undertook evangelistic and educational work among the natives of North America and their children, inspired by John Eliot's work as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Boston from 1632.⁽⁵⁾ This deliberately planned missionary society based on voluntary subscriptions was then a completely new idea. In 1661 this company was reconstituted under the Church of England and incorporated by Charles II.⁽⁶⁾ The constitution of this model society seems to have been the basis of those of the later societies like the 'Sons of the Clergy' (1678) - which was the basis of Dr. Bray's original plan of an incorporated 'Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge'.⁽⁷⁾ Hence the SPCK was a daughter of the religious societies and the mother of the future missionary societies!⁽⁸⁾ In 1701, Bray alone petitioned William III for a chartered society and the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' was born, the founder members of which were largely drawn from the SPCK.⁽⁹⁾

Bray's intention was to create an official church instrument.⁽¹⁾
 The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were to be leaders of the Corporation of the SPCK and represented on it by their senior chaplains⁽²⁾ and both supported Bray in the background in his appeal for a Royal charter for the SPG.⁽³⁾ The SPG received responsibility for North America from the SPCK and was looked upon as the agency for the Church of England overseas.⁽⁴⁾ Some impetus may have been given by the Roman Catholic missionary expansion that followed the 'Congregatio de Propaganda Fide' (1622). This example of a church's official agency for the propagation of the faith in heathen and heretical lands, conducted by a committee of cardinals supervised by the Pope⁽⁵⁾ may have inspired Bray in his idea for an official agency of the Church of England.^(A)

I.1.3. The Development of the Evangelical Missionary Societies

The link between the Church and State in England meant, in fact, a slow start to missionary work. The SPCK and the SPG made a languid start in the eighteenth century. However,

Overton and Relton remind us that 'in estimating the work done by the Church...during the eighteenth century, it is only fair to remember that it was a new and tentative task which it was taking in hand...from its very foundation traces may be found of the tentative and experimental nature of its efforts, and traces also of the character of the time at which it took its rise.'⁽⁶⁾

The SPG in fact did noble work in discouraging conditions and difficulties. Latitudinarian and erastian ideas began to prevail in the eighteenth century, and, of course, there was no episcopal supervision in the colonies. All the SPG could do was to establish episcopal societies abroad - but without a bishop! Whig predominance in English politics was a 'blighting influence', and dissenters (whom Walpole and his successors conciliated) strongly objected to the introduction of bishops as State officials - which was the pattern at home - into the colonies; and yet the Church was not seeking to establish the monarchical episcopate abroad!⁽⁷⁾ More was accomplished by the SPG than is commonly supposed for, in America, when it began work there were five churches and when it closed at the Declaration of Independence there were 250. The English Church itself was 'too subservient to the State for any churchman to dream of bidding defiance to it...Short of taking the matter into their own hands, the English bishops seem to have done their very best to meet the emergency.'⁽⁸⁾ The Church and State were fused as one society, and independent action was thought to be inconceivable, for, as Cnattingius remarks,

'Protestant Churches...were State Churches, and according to the Protestant view the spiritual care of the colonial peoples was primarily the responsibility of the prince or temporal ruler. Princes, however, showed themselves with few exceptions little interested in foreign missionary work...until the beginning of the 19th [sic] century, the idea of missionary work did not receive sufficient support in general. The Protestant Churches were still far too dependent on the temporal authorities, and had not enough freedom of action or authority to create any official Church missionary organization on their own account.'(1)

The SPCK did not favour the Evangelicals, being opposed to their innovations and 'enthusiasm'.^(A) The earlier Evangelicals (Wesley, Whitfield) were not members, but the later Evangelicals (Simeon, John Venn, Wilberforce, Thornton) were. However, they were never allowed to exercise much influence on policy.^{(2)(B)} The SPG supplied clergy for the colonists and natives, but it did not maintain its early promise and, by 1799, was working only among English settlers. Its income in that year from subscriptions and donations was only £533!^{(3)(C)}

Balleine describes the eighteenth century as the 'glacial epoch' in the history of the Church of England:⁽⁴⁾ it was characterized by absenteeism, complacency, worldliness and sensitiveness to privilege and prestige.⁽⁵⁾ Bishop Butler, in an advertisement prefixed to his 'Analogy of Religion', could say, 'it has come to be taken for granted that christianity is not so much a subject for enquiry but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious.'⁽⁶⁾ The church lacked leadership and was unprepared for changes.⁽⁷⁾

This may be too scathing a rebuke because 'The general character of Church life from the accession of George I to...the last decade of the century, remained in a singular degree unchanged...It would not be fair...to attribute this...to a want of interest in religion. On the contrary, it arose to a great extent from precisely the opposite cause. It was a reaction [from Puritanism and 'Popery'] and they tried to warily steer [sic] a middle course, and the best way of doing this was by going very quietly...it showed itself rather by way of obstructiveness than progress...The presumption was that any change would be for the worse. The proverbial apathy of the age was at least as much the effect as the cause of this feeling.'⁽⁸⁾

6/ In this age clergy were highly esteemed and it was fashionable to mourn over the evils of the times. However, a 'low standard existed all round, and the clergy as a body rose a little, though only a very little, higher than the general level.'⁽⁹⁾ But at the end of the eighteenth century it had no organization at all for evangelizing the heathen⁽¹⁰⁾ yet, outside the Church of England, the Danish mission in India and the Moravian mission in Greenland had been in existence for over half a century.

The Methodists had begun their West Indies negro work in 1760, the Baptist Missionary Society had sent Carey to India in 1792, the undenominational London Missionary Society sent their first workers to the South Sea Islands in 1795, and in 1796 the Scottish Presbyterians founded two missionary societies.⁽¹⁾ But the Anglican Evangelicals were stifled! At a time when the spiritual temperature of Anglican church life as a whole was low, reflected in the hostility of the two older but moribund societies whose economy was based on Parliamentary grants and Royal letters,⁽²⁾ Evangelical enthusiasm was reaching its apogee. Though a despised minority in the church, they were, at this time, the strongest influence for good in the life of the nation. It is little wonder that if men like Simeon and Wilberforce really desired to do anything effective, they were compelled to form their own instrument to achieve their designs.⁽³⁾ Stock wrote, 'if...the Evangelicals were to do anything at all...they must act for themselves; and this being so, they naturally and rightly determined...to work upon their own lines and in accordance with their own principles.'⁽⁴⁾

Stock names 1786 as the turning point in the development of the Evangelical missionary movement, for, in that year, when Parliament permitted the creation of colonial and missionary bishoprics, the Eclectic Society first discussed missions. Yet within a generation from that date the Evangelicals had been responsible for founding thirty religious or philanthropic societies.⁽⁵⁾ Though SPCK and SPG treated them as 'lesser breeds without the law' they became a recognized development in church life. Carpenter quotes Liddon as having said that the 'deepest and most fervid religion in England during the first three decades of this [the nineteenth] century was that of the Evangelicals' ⁽⁶⁾ and that coincided with the beginnings of Protestant missionary enterprise. ⁽⁷⁾

At its meeting on 18 February 1799, the Eclectic Society^(A) held a general conversation on the subject of missions in connection with the Anglican Evangelicals.⁽⁸⁾ Foreign missions had been the subject of earlier discussions^(B) but, on this occasion, they were concerned with what practical steps Evangelicals could take. John Venn introduced the debate on the subject of methods on 18 March. Here lay the heart of the controversy with the two older Societies. Venn enumerated three principles: to follow God's leading in dependence upon the Holy Spirit; to depend on the type of man sent out who must be carefully chosen; and to begin on a small scale, putting money in second place.⁽⁹⁾ The Eclectics were loyal churchmen and wanted a Church missionary Society.

The Clapham Evangelicals believed that the Church was the strongest barrier against Continental revolutionary ideas and were consequently strong Churchmen.⁽¹⁾ But, as Cnattingius says, they could not 'consider working with the already existing SPG and SPCK. If they were to achieve anything, they must be able to influence the policy of a society. They knew that, at a time when the Evangelical party was surrounded by so much mistrust and hostility, they would never be able to make themselves felt in these societies.'⁽²⁾

According to John Venn, a Church missionary Society must be founded on the 'Church principle and not the High-Church principle'^(A) and therefore they had the right of voluntary combination for a common object without episcopal consent. The Evangelicals believed also that spiritual work could only be done by spiritual men, therefore every man ordained by a bishop was not ipso facto fit to be a missionary.⁽³⁾ Thus they were at variance in principle with the two older societies. They 'had therefore, if they wished to be true to their own beliefs, to go their own ways. They were also determined to do so.'⁽⁴⁾ The discussion of 18 March led to a public meeting on 12 April at which the 'Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East' was founded.⁽⁵⁾ It was these men who were the driving force behind the other Evangelical Societies founded in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁽⁶⁾

I.1.4. Ministry to Emigrants from England

The invention of the steam engine began an industrial revolution which changed the pattern of life in England. Hitherto life had been predominantly rural and agricultural, but now urban life, industry and mass-production developed. People flocked into the industrial areas and with this move went the loss of stability, the tearing up of old roots and the severing of past ties and loyalties.⁽⁷⁾ A period of comparative peace from 1815 led to mounting prosperity, and the exploration and mastery of the environment and so began Britain's Colonial development. Convict settlements had been established in Australia, but there now followed the free settlement of other parts of the world as a means of relieving unemployment.⁽⁸⁾

Between 1815-40 one million emigrated from Britain⁽⁹⁾ and the spiritual plight of our fellow-countrymen began to clamour for attention. For example, 'Newfoundland at this time was one of the plague spots of the Empire, a land where the white man had almost sunk back into barbarism.'⁽¹⁰⁾ 'The Evangelicals', says Cnattingius, 'who were well aware of the spiritual needs of the colonies, had as early as 1823 founded the Newfoundland Society and in 1838 the Colonial Church Society.'⁽¹¹⁾ Stock says that the CCS 'undoubtedly owed its origin

to the desire of Evangelical churchmen, who had little influence in the councils of the SPG to stretch out a helping hand to their brethren in the Colonies; but, like the CMS, it was intended to be not a rival of the older society [SPG], but a fellow-labourer.'⁽¹⁾ The SPG did not have the resources since, through Government withdrawal of grants, it has had to close some of its operations.^{(2)(A)}

Now the Newfoundland School Society and the Colonial Church Society were the parent operations of the Colonial and Continental Church Society 'whose work is to keep the white man christian in whatever country he may settle.'⁽³⁾ The expansion of the English people carried with it the expansion of the English church, and of that Church the Society was the handmaid.

I.2. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FACTORS RELATING TO EMIGRATION

I.2.1. The Effect of the Industrial Revolution

The peace of the Congress of Vienna (1815) brought disappointment: heavy taxation, a vast national debt, a sluggish trade revival, a succession of bad harvests and consequent low wages and unemployment exacerbated by the return to civil life of demobilized soldiers.⁽⁴⁾ Industrialization contributed to large-scale emigration. The steam engine and the factory system was 'the greatest transformation that western civilization has so far experienced.'⁽⁵⁾ and England was largely industrialized by 1840.^(B) With improved means of transportation came a revival of trade. The shift of population from the country to the town coupled with a rapid population growth since the mid-eighteenth century,^(C) meant that England ceased to be self-supporting. This resulted in an increased demand for imported foodstuffs and raw materials from abroad. Leadership in industrialization fortunately gave England a surplus of manufactured goods for exchange in foreign markets.⁽⁶⁾ England was compelled to become more aware of other lands, not least through social and political movements like the French Revolution (1789 and following) which affected the social organization and marked the beginnings of the democratic movement.⁽⁷⁾

The growth and depressed condition of the British population gave rise to a new emigration and to new colonies of the settlement type.⁽⁸⁾ The English had a natural instinct for colonization however - the fruit of an island situation⁽⁹⁾ and naval supremacy of the seas.⁽¹⁰⁾

I.2.2. Colonization policy and the Pattern of Emigration

The English Government in the seventeenth century (on the traditional concept of empire) created dependencies. This meant economic subjection in return for defence,⁽¹⁾ but it also meant as small a number of white settlers as possible, managed by officials appointed from home. The British Government was not disposed to encourage autonomy!⁽²⁾ The resident fisheries in Newfoundland, for example, were curtailed because of the Government's desire for ready-to-hand trained fighting men for the British navy.⁽³⁾ But this principle was wrong from the outset. The first British (American) Empire refused to submit and finally fought its way out of association - in the name of British liberty!⁽⁴⁾ The scene shifted, other colonies had to be found; 'the determining impulse to the colonization of Cook's New South Wales was undoubtedly the loss of the American Colonies in 1783.'⁽⁵⁾ New South Wales was founded in 1788 as a penal settlement.⁽⁶⁾ The scene also shifted to Canada where a new and flexible instrument of association of a daughter colony to the mother state was applied, which would allow for growth and the eventual independence of adult nationhood. It was new, though in fact it was a revival of the Greek idea of free daughter communities: an expansion of the race rather than the creation of an empire of domination.⁽⁷⁾ It was flexible because it permitted a transition from the subordination of empire to the voluntary partnership of commonwealth.⁽⁸⁾ Reaction against the old policy was visible by 1823 and effective by 1830.⁽⁹⁾

In the years immediately following 1815 there was no general Government desire to promote settlement colonies, though Sir Robert Wilmot Horton (Under Secretary for the Colonies, 1823-5) aided numbers of poor to Canada. A 'Colonization Society' was founded in part to expose the hidden activities of permanent officials of the Colonial Office and in part to advocate responsible government. This Society drew up plans for a systematic colonization of unoccupied stretches where land, capital and labour could be brought together. Money acquired through the sale of land would be devoted to assisting passages of emigrants to keep labour plentiful so as to attract capital for development. Wakefield's^(A) system influenced New Zealand and South Australia, but was affected by variation in the quality of land. This was at least an attempt at a systematic approach to emigration, and the rapid development of Australia between 1831-51 was largely due to it. Military and racial problems in South Africa made it less effective there, and emigrants were more readily available for Canada. Systematic colonization gained momentum after 1831 when the Colonists Society

gained a hearing from the authorities, But there was no change in the political status of the colonies and in the late thirties there was considerable unrest everywhere. This gave place in 1837 to rebellion in Canada which resulted in Lord Durham's report, and the movement towards responsible government from 1840 onwards.⁽¹⁾

The Canadian West was opened up by fur-traders, explorers and gold-seekers, assisted by the construction of the trans-continental railway system.⁽²⁾ New South Wales was largely used as a penal colony until the years after 1824 when 'free emigration' was encouraged and the exploration of the colony followed. Colonization in Australia followed the lines of discovery⁽³⁾ especially of gold in New South Wales and Victoria after 1850.^{(4)(A)}

A new era of expansion began in 1870. Until that year Britain was the only European colonizing power, but from 1870 she was only one among many: the Germans, French, Italians, Russians, Scandinavians and Slavs.⁽⁵⁾ The growth of population (labour), and industrialization (capital), the gold-field deposits, the development of steam transport and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, all contributed to the mobility of the population.⁽⁶⁾

Canada hurried to dominion status in 1867,^(B) and by that time the Canadian Pacific Railway was partially complete and it reached the prairies by 1880. Immigration followed and 1882 saw the organization of four territories: Athabasca, Alberta, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, with the offer of free land and cheap rail and steamer fares to encourage settlement. The process was slow until the end of the century, but from 1900-14 emigration to Canada reached its largest proportions. Americans too crossed into the prairies because the American West was filled up, and Canada alone offered land to the pioneer. Industry, mining and railway development attracted the East Europeans.⁽⁷⁾ These four territories were consolidated into two provinces of full rank in 1905: Alberta and Saskatchewan. British Columbia entered the Dominion in 1871 on the promise of a trans-continental railway, which was completed by 1886.⁽⁸⁾

Railway building began much later in Africa: in West and Central Africa in 1885; East Africa in 1895; in Egypt and the Cape Colony in the years immediately after 1870; and Egypt south to Khartoum and beyond in 1898.⁽⁹⁾ Colonists followed the building of the railways, as in Canada; in West Africa from 1900 after the borders were stabilized;⁽¹⁰⁾ in East Africa when the Germans and British recognized each other's territorial rights after 1886;⁽¹¹⁾ and in Kenya Colony after the South African War of 1902-3.⁽¹²⁾ The Australian political map had only begun to take its familiar shape in 1859⁽¹³⁾ and she did not acquire Dominion status until 1901.⁽¹⁴⁾

The flow of population temporarily halted by the 1914-18 War resumed in 1920. Canada received an average of 100,000 annually between 1920-30, mostly in the prairies - but less than fifty per cent were British and less than twenty-five per cent were American. The Americans and Scandinavians were quickly assimilated but the Ukrainians and the French formed separatist groups.⁽¹⁾ For Australia these post-war years were years of settling down and adjustment, but they saw a trickle of immigrants from Britain, but emigration was never enthusiastically encouraged and it died away after 1929.⁽²⁾

1922 was the year of the Empire Settlement Act when the Colonial Secretary arranged with the Dominion Governments for assisted emigration. Canada, Australia and New Zealand responded in certain categories, but, although one million emigrated in the following ten years, less than fifty per cent qualified for assistance.⁽³⁾

By 1945, at the close of the Second World War, British expansion had ceased, though investment and emigration^(A) was resumed. Britain no longer had the will or resources to maintain an Empire and she conducted a planned withdrawal as former Dependencies became self-governing Dominions.⁽⁴⁾

It was for this 'greater Britain' that the Colonial and Continental Church Society assumed responsibility on behalf of the Church at home, and made its special field of operations.

I.3. INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

'The nineteenth century was a period of vast and profound changes in all departments of life and thought, and none was without its effect upon religion and theology.'⁽⁵⁾ It was commonly thought to be an age of faith, but beneath the surface there was a turmoil of doubt and uncertainty. Most of the influential teachers were either unbelievers or unorthodox.⁽⁶⁾ The revival of religious life in the nation divided the church into 'high' and 'low' parties, but the Evangelicals by no means dominated the church at the beginning of the nineteenth century.^{(7)(B)} They were not the party in power but in opposition,⁽⁸⁾ but they did however have much to do with awakening the conscience of the church at that time,⁽⁹⁾ and their influence was greater than either their numbers or the ecclesiastical offices they held.⁽¹⁰⁾ Williamson acknowledges Evangelical Christianity to be a contributory cause (in the field of ideas) of British expansion in the nineteenth century.⁽¹¹⁾ They took up a new relation to the needs of the time, and a new and permanent position as 'the promoters of philanthropic and missionary work, and gained in public position in consequence.'⁽¹²⁾ The revival of personal religion^(C)

stimulated corporate action. Clapham was the centre of vision and power and the source of funds.^(A)

But the Church as a whole before the rise of the Oxford movement was undoubtedly tainted with Erastianism^(B) and much too ready to acquiesce in parliamentary interference, however high-handed.⁽¹⁾ The Church detested nothing so much as enthusiasm (a term used to include all Methodists and nearly all missionaries) and, in consequence, the leaders had an insignificant influence on public opinion.⁽²⁾

From 1833 the rising tide was with the High-Church Party and the Evangelicals went out of fashion. It was the Evangelicals' good works rather than their theology which commanded respect, and after the original impulse expended itself on negro emancipation and missionary enterprise, and the pioneers died, the Party went into decline.^{(3)(C)} The Liberals at the turn of the century were occupied in philanthropy and the destruction of privilege rather than theological ideas,⁽⁴⁾ and this culminated in the Irish Bishops Act of 1833.^(D) This provoked Keble's reaction in his 'Assize Sermon' on 14 July 1833 on national apostasy⁽⁵⁾ in which he condemned state interference in church affairs as a sign of apostasy.⁽⁶⁾ This was a declaration of war to meet the advancing army of Liberalism. The Oxford Movement revived the doctrine of the church as the 'divine institution': it was neither a department of state nor a convenience for saving individuals.^{(7)(E)} The Catholic Party considered the early Liberals to be traitors for siding with the reform-of-the-church movement: the time had come to reassert the authority of the church (which the Evangelicals were powerless to do because, as they thought, they had no adequate view of it).⁽⁸⁾ But it never succeeded, like the Evangelicals, in pervading the mind of the nation.^{(9)(F)}

Queen Victoria's early years saw a gradual but certain strengthening and revival of the religious life of the nation.⁽¹⁰⁾ The mid-century however began to be the battleground of scientific doubt and dogma, and of corporate with individual religion: 'in this conflict of opinion, which was to occupy the greater part of the nineteenth century, the aggressive force proceeded from a sense of churchmanship.'⁽¹¹⁾ The issues caused clear polarization: Evangelicals at one end, Tractarians at the other. The Evangelicals continued to show missionary zeal and moral fervour but they became a 'Party',^(G) fanatically anti-catholic and anti-liberal.⁽¹²⁾ The Oxford Movement, though a response to a crisis, was academic, clerical and conservative.⁽¹³⁾ But from the middle of the century the ritualistic movement occupied a larger space in the public eye than the quieter agencies of the Evangelicals.⁽¹⁴⁾

The conflicts between the corporate and individual and dogma and liberalism (the opinion that theology was a matter of opinion) were in the open. The leaders of the High and Low-Church Parties did not reciprocate the anti-dogmatic generosity of the Broad-Church Party.⁽¹⁾ It was the Broad-Church Party that welcomed the liberal ideas. Rationalism was rampant on the Continent by the beginning of the nineteenth century, but England, however, had been insulated by the Napoleonic wars, and the suspicion attached to Voltaire and Rousseau for having started the French Revolution, and by a dislike of Kant's critique of the intellect.⁽²⁾ Liberalism made its impact however. There had, of course, been challenges to the Church previously, but now, for the first time, the Faith itself was at stake!⁽³⁾ The twin problems of religion and science and religion and history came to the fore.^(A) The appearance of these two problems coincided with two events: the repeal of the paper duty in 1860 and the beginnings of a national education system. In consequence of an increased quantity of reading matter and a more literate and thoughtful laity, the ideas spread rapidly, but confusion was aggravated by the freedom with which religious questions were aired in the press.⁽⁴⁾ But the problem was really brought to the attention of the nation through Bishop Colenso's writings (and subsequent trial for heresy) and the publication of 'Essays and Reviews' in 1860.⁽⁵⁾ 'There was in Colenso a certain amount of German criticism and in "Essays and Reviews" a certain amount of Straussian ideology.'⁽⁶⁾ Doubt was in the air, and the religious man breathed in an atmosphere permeated by it.⁽⁷⁾ Williamson names 1870 as a significant transition date: prior to it the scene, he says, was dominated by the idealists (men of religion); after it, by the realists (men of science).⁽⁸⁾ "Essays and Reviews" had precipitated a crisis.^(B)

The Evangelicals and Tractarians, forgetting their differences joined in protest and condemnation,⁽⁹⁾ and in the years following 1870, the forces of tradition and advance joined in conflict.⁽¹⁰⁾ The energies of the Evangelicals still largely found their outlet in practical work rather than thought, and they devoted themselves to the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad.⁽¹¹⁾

But liberal ideas gradually took hold of both. From 1875, the High-Church theologians at Oxford were influenced by F.D. Maurice and T.H. Green, and 'Lux Mundi'^(C) (1889) marked the emergence of a 'liberal catholicism', to use Gore's phrase.⁽¹²⁾ The contributors welcomed the discoveries of natural science and moderate Biblical criticism,⁽¹³⁾ and attempted to put the catholic faith in right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems.⁽¹⁴⁾ The whole history of the liberal catholic movement since has been marked by the ability to absorb into itself elements of the air around it.⁽¹⁵⁾ There are signs of a later, and not

quite parallel, movement among the Evangelicals, though H.C.G. Moule^(A) (who shrank from the new learning) did much to check the growth of liberalism among them.⁽¹⁾ These were years, anyway, of revitalization for them: the Moody and Sankey missions - especially the Oxford (1875) and Cambridge (1882) missions; and the conferences - Mildmay (1870) and Keswick (1875).⁽²⁾ Elliott-Binns remarks, 'The failure of liberal views to spread, for the present, among Evangelicals stood in the way of its advancement in the Church of England.' Liberalism prevailed among some Evangelicals in the twentieth century but a 'conservative' tradition remained.⁽³⁾ But during the last forty years of the nineteenth century the critical methods gained ground. In the 1890s, remarks Neil, it was not easy for an intelligent man to be a christian, but in that very decade the tide began to turn!⁽⁴⁾

Liberalism dominated the theological scene at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁽⁵⁾ But the impact of the social tragedy of the 1914-18 War led to the rediscovery of the existentialism of Søren Kierkegaard (1813-55). The war had broken the Englishman's confidence in the idols of the 'Age of Reason' and in the new world of democracy and science, moral idealism and liberal religion.⁽⁶⁾ Kierkegaard stood for the primacy of personal existence over abstract systems and collective authorities, and he aimed to destroy man's confidence in all philosophical systems and to throw man back on himself: to make decisions in terms of his own personal experience.⁽⁷⁾

Karl Barth's 'theology of crisis' arose from the rediscovery of Kierkegaard. The catastrophe of the first world-war shook belief in the inevitability of progress. The publication of his commentary on 'Romans' at the end of the war marked the beginning of a reaction against liberalism and a return to near-orthodoxy. This neo-orthodoxy gained ground in the church in the following years.⁽⁸⁾

The church in its contemporary situation faces a new radicalism. Several movements attempt to understand the problem of modern man. The 'Death of God' school traces the problem back to a crisis in the idea of God, and God is made redundant ('God has died in our time, in our history and in our existence').⁽⁹⁾ We live in a secularized society. Others (R. Bultmann, P. Tillich and P. van Buren) trace the problem back to the unintelligible way the church proclaims the christian message.⁽¹⁰⁾

Such is the background of the origin and development of the Commonwealth and Continental Church Society, and to this study we now turn.

Footnotes

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- A. There are other examples of religious concessions, e.g. the Merchant Adventurers Company came to Hamburg in 1611 and concessions were granted under articles 18 and 19 of the contract with the Hamburg State. (LH Tripp, Church of England, Hamburg, 1836-1936, a monograph)
- B. See Frobisher's expedition to find the north-west passage in 1578. (S Neil, A History of Christian Missions, 1964, p.200 footnote)
- C. Some of Charles Simeon's men from Cambridge, like Henry Martyn, are examples. (Neil, *ibid*, pp.266f)

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- A. Under these Articles, clergy were not to exercise the power of ordination but to receive Orders from their own mother Church in England or Scotland; and they were not to reject the Ordinance of James I preventing non-ordained agents from assuming pastoral office and preventing seditious writings against the Church and State. (F Oudschans Dentz, The History of the English Church in the Hague, 1586-1929, 1929, p.19 referring to Van Aitzema, Saken van Steat en Vorlogh, vol.I, pp.765-8 in translation)
- B. The Bishop of London's supervision of the congregations in the plantations seems to go back to Elizabethan days. Overton and Relton remark that when Virginia was founded, the Bishop of London held Virginia stock and undertook the spiritual superintendence of the new colony. This passed to his successors - each taking out a patent and appointing a commissary. (The English Church, 1714-1800, 1906, p.311) So that when Laud showed anxiety as Bishop of London to secure control in Europe tradition supported him - it was not a new thing he was doing.
- C. The Bishop of London's powers were not clear. Gibson applied for and received the Royal patent in 1727 and again in 1728, but in that year the King claimed ultimate spiritual jurisdiction which he would delegate if he wished, and the government supported this view for over a century. This amounted to temporal interference which was resented by the 'High-Church' Anglicans. Gibson's successors did not receive the patents and the Bishop of London's rights rested on the tradition until 1783. (SE Baldwin, The American Jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in Colonial Times, 1901, pp.19f - quoted by H Cnattngius, Bishops and Societies, 1952, p.24) The Bishop of London's powers were not clear, but then the Restoration period was one of confusion and uncertainty anyway. (N Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker, 1958, p.2) After the reign of the saints' dissent was strong in England and in the colonies and dissenters objected to the increase of ecclesiastical power here or there. (Sykes, *ibid*, p.210) Gibson, a champion of High-Church orthodoxy against the increasingly prevalent latitudinarianism, was Bishop of London between 1723-48 and, as Bishop, was active for the welfare of the American Colonies. (FL Cross, The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1958, p.557) He investigated the origins and legal basis of the jurisdiction (Sykes, *op cit*, pp.205f) and then asserted, as a canonist, 'the mutual obligation of the two authorities spiritual and temporal to respect each other's franchises.' (Sykes, *ibid*, p.65 citing Codex Juris, vol. I, p.xxix) He tried hard (and he was then the most influential prelate in England according to Overton and Relton - *op cit*, pp.100f) to the Elizabethan practice of

Convocation dealing with ecclesiastical matters as an equal of Parliament, but he failed to arrest the decline of Church power. (Sykes, op cit, p.65) 'The reality of lay power over the Church was a fact beyond dispute.' (Sykes, ibid, p.211) Gibson himself complained of 'trying times when bishops are less respected and their actions narrowly watched by enemies, and Church power is openly complained of as a national grievance.' (St Paul's Cathedral MSS, 17, B.15 quoted by Sykes, ibid, p.216) Gibson's successors did not have powers relating to probate, marriage and collation in the colonies: these were vested in the Governors. All that could be done was to issue licences and maintain adequate supervision of the clergy - commissaries had no judicial authority. (Cnattingius, op cit, p.24)

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- A. An Act of the Long Parliament on 27 July 1649 set up the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England'. The President and Corporation were given powers to acquire land; receive and dispose of moneys, goods and commodities for evangelistic and educational work among the natives; organize a collection throughout England and Wales, ministers were to give every assistance and with others were to go from house to house to take subscriptions. (CH Firth & RS Rait, (Eds) Acts and Ordinances of the Inter-regnum, 1642-60, 1911, pp.197ff)

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- A. Bray wrote in his own hand on his first draft, 'A copy of a plan of a protestant congregatio pro propaganda fide.' (MSS Folio 322, Sion College Archives, quoted by Cnattingius, op cit, p.11, footnote 2)

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- A. The Evangelicals showed enthusiasm for societies for the deepening of spiritual life, p.105; the introduction of evening services and district visiting, p.115; lay-preaching, p.28; Sunday Schools, pp.135-42. (GR Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, 1951)
- B. Pratt wrote later of this period that so exclusive a spirit existed in the SPCK that, though he and others were subscribers, any offers of active co-operation for missions would have been rejected. He mentions a 'most worthy man' who had been refused admission to membership because he had been recommended by Wilberforce. (see C Hole, Early History of the CMS, p.407; E Stock, History of the CMS, 1899, p.66 footnote) Charles Simeon, when proposed as a member of SPCK, was 'black-balled' and was subsequently admitted owing to the personal efforts of CJ Blomfield, later Bishop of London. (Christian Observer, July 1863, p.536; Stock, op cit, p.66 footnote) Stock states that later leading Evangelical clergy of many years standing as subscribers to the SPG could not obtain elections to the body of incorporated membership, but young Tractarians contrived to get in and make themselves conspicuous in the monthly meeting. (Stock, ibid, p.398)
- C. F Warre Cornish remarks that both SPCK and SPG were at a low point of efficiency, poor in funds and unenterprising in action at this period. (A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century, 1910, vol.I, p.51)

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- A. The Eclectic Society was a private society of Evangelical Anglicans both clerical and lay, which met for 'mutual religious intercourse and improvement and for the investigation of religious truth.' Its first meeting was held on 16 January 1783 and its meetings were usually held in the vestry of St John's Chapel, Bedford Row (Richard Cecil). Josiah Pratt took notes between 1798 and 1814 which were subsequently published by his son as 'Eclectic Notes' in 1856. (FWB Bullock, Voluntary Religious Societies, 1963, p.243)
- B. On 13 November 1786 the Eclectics considered evangelism in Botany Bay, and in that year an Evangelical was first to be appointed chaplain to a convict ship through the influence of Wilberforce and Thornton. In 1787 Simeon became the agent at home of a projected mission to the East Indies at the request of officials of the East India Company. The best methods of evangelism in relation to the East Indies were discussed again in 1789, and in relation to Africa in 1791. Then Simeon led a discussion on the propriety and mode of missions to the heathen in 1796. (Bullock, *ibid*, p.243)

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- A. 'By this he [John Venn] meant that the missionary movement must on the one hand hold firmly by the Church of England with its episcopal constitution, teaching and liturgy (the Prayer Book), but on the other hand rejected the High Anglican view. It meant that not every missionary undertaking need have bishops at the head, or even bishops to decide which persons should be sent out as missionaries. This Evangelical group had its own ideas as to what persons were suitable as missionaries: not any clergyman, but converts and believers. The High -Church principle implied episcopacy plus transmitted grace, 'which carries with it in practice the rule that no mission should be set on foot except under episcopal rule, and that bishops were to be the judges of the fitness of this or that man for the work.' (F Warre Cornish, *op cit*, vol.I, p.47) For Evangelicals, episcopacy was necessary for the perfection of the Church but not for the existence of the Church.

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- A. Balleine, in his history of the Evangelical Party remarks that it was the failure of the SPG to keep pace with its opportunities among the white colonists that called into existence the two Evangelical Societies for the Colonies. (Balleine, *op cit*, p.143)
- B. Metalled highways and canal networks were complete by the late eighteenth century, and the mainline railway network between 1828-50. (JA Williamson A Short History of British Expansion, 1967, pp.7f,11)
- C. Census population figures: 1811, 10 million; 1831, 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ million; 1851, 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ million. (Williamson, *ibid*, p.10) Before the Industrial Revolution the population ratio was 5 to 1 in favour of rural areas, but by the mid-nineteenth century the ratio was equal. (williamson, *ibid*, p.11 - see MC Buer, Health, Wealth and Population, 1926, p.226)

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- A. EG Wakefield planned intensive cultivation by land price-control and group emigration (emigration of a community with a variety of complementary skills) e.g. in 1841 a Devonshire group went to New Plymouth, North Island, New Zealand. (V Harlow (Ed), Origins and Purpose, p.29)

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- A. The gold rush raised the population of Victoria from 70,000 (1850) to 333,000 (1855). (Harlow, *ibid*, p.27)
- B. This was precipitated by two pressing dangers: internal tension because of rivalry between those of French and British origin, access to British (Upper Canada) Ontario was through French (Lower Canada) Quebec; and the USA was ambitious to expand beyond the Great Lakes into the Prairies that would soon be open to settlement. (Williamson, *op cit*, p.211)

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- A. Between 1846-60, Canada received 2 million, and between 1847-66 Australia received 1 million emigrants from Britain. Only 30% of Canadian immigrants were British, and though for Australia it was higher, it was no longer entirely British. (Williamson, *ibid*, p.369 footnote)
- B. As late as 1810, the subscribers' lists of the CMS contained no peers or bishops. (Warre Cornish, *op cit*, vol.I, p.8)
- C. The Evangelicals brought to bear on English life an intense belief in God and the saving power of the Gospel, belief in the necessity of personal conversion and an intense moral earnestness. (Carpenter, Church and People, 1789-1889, 1933, p.28)

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- A. Islington Parish Church (Daniel Wilson, vicar 1824-32 and after Bishop of Calcutta) became the headquarters of the Evangelical Party in London. (Warre Cornish, *op cit*, vol.II, p.374)
- B. Erastianism is basically the love of compromise, and those of this outlook saw the Church as a department of State to preserve public morals and to support venerable traditions and institutions. (LE Elliott-Binns, Religion in the Victorian Era, 1964, p.47)
- C. Halévy, in his 'History of the British People in the Nineteenth Century', considered that Evangelicals reached their apogee in 1832 with 2-3,000 clergy. (quoted in DC Somervell, English Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1964, pp.99-101)
- D. The Act was designed to suppress ten Irish Protestant Bishoprics then regarded as an integral part of the Church of England. Later (1869) there followed the disendowment (in part) and disestablishment of the Irish Church. (Somervell, *ibid*, p.104)
- E. Liberalism was checked temporarily by the Oxford Movement. (VF Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1913, p.317)

- F. In the 1928 Prayer Book controversy, for example, Anglo-catholicism had not overcome the traditional protestantism of the nation. (Somervell, op cit, p.109) 'To many Victorians evangelical doctrine was the authentic voice and the scriptural piety of the Protestant Reformation.' (O Chadwick, An Ecclesiastical History of England, 1966, vol.7, p.5)
- G. Chadwick says that Evangelicals were not ashamed of the word 'Party' because they had a defined programme for the Church and were organized to further it. (Chadwick, ibid, p.448) Through the influence of Shaftesbury with Palmerston the complexion of Anglican leadership began to change. 'The profession of Evangelical opinion had until this moment erected a fence against preferment. In February 1855 (when Palmerston became Prime Minister) the fence collapsed and reappeared as a ladder.' (Chadwick, ibid, p.471)

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- A. During the early to middle period of the century the foundations of every branch of the physical sciences were laid. Biblical criticism gained ground and the traditional theory of the plenary inspiration of the Bible lost ground. A third force at this time was the religious philosophy of ST Coleridge (d.1839) and his successors, JC Hare (d.1855) and FD Maurice (d.1872). (Storr, op cit, pp.5-7) In science the problems of the geological time-scale, evolution and the interpretation of Genesis, and in history those related to authority and revelation had a cumulative effect. (Carpenter, op cit, pp.500f) The supernatural was rejected in favour of a search for natural causes. German scholarship had a powerful influence on English liberalism. (AR Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1963, p.22) Its ideas entered England through works like George Eliot's translation (in 1846) of DF Strauss's 'Leben Jesu' and JE Renan's 'Life of Jesus' (1863). (Carpenter, op cit, pp.501f)
- B. There was a general upheaval in the field of religious ideas. Theologians now had to relate theology to wider fields of knowledge: Christian apologetics had to come to grips with the theory of evolution and the negations of materialistic science. (Storr, op cit, p.5)
- C. 'Lux Mundi': a series of studies in the religion of the Incarnation edited by Charles Gore was a landmark in the history of theological thought. (Carpenter, op cit, p.536)

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- A. HCG Moule (1841-1920) was Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge and curate of St Sepulchre's Church (1873-7) then in 1880 he became the first Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge until 1899 when for two years he became Norrisian Professor of Divinity. In 1901 he was nominated to the Bishopric of Durham. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.24, p.390)

II. SURVEY OF THE MAIN MOVEMENTS, DEBATES AND PERSONALITIES OF THE EARLY SOCIETIES

The Colonial Church and School Society, which changed its name in 1861 to the Colonial and Continental Church Society, was formed in 1851. It was the result of the amalgamation of two existing Societies: The Church of England Society and the Colonial Church Society. Both these parent Societies had undergone changes of name, and with the origins and course of these two Societies we are now concerned.

II.1. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SOCIETY FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE COLONIES, 1823-51

II.1.1. The Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland (The Newfoundland School Society), 30 June 1823

The Society began its history as an educational association in Newfoundland - Britain's oldest colony. Royal permission was given for colonization in 1637 and for the establishment of a resident fishery. English residents then grew in number until, by 1825, there was a population of nearly 36,000.⁽¹⁾ In the early years of the nineteenth century cod was plentiful and the industry prospered. In 1814-15 a large number of Irish immigrants arrived, but in the latter year the cod failed and extreme hardship ensued.⁽²⁾ This considerable Irish migration created 'grave social, economic and educational problems.'⁽³⁾ Christian laymen, who lived in the colonies or were in some way associated with territories abroad, mourned over their spiritual destitution.⁽⁴⁾ But, as we have seen, these were days of awakened Evangelical zeal, and these christian laymen, largely associated with the Clapham Sect, were directing the thought and responsibility of the Church in England towards their own people abroad. There was little appreciation at home of the moral and intellectual condition of scattered groups of English people overseas. In Newfoundland there was a very inadequate supply of christian ministers and a still more inadequate provision for the education of the rising generation.⁽⁵⁾ The isolation of most of the population in small villages and hamlets engaged in a precarious occupation and the general level of poverty made it difficult for them to provide education for their children.⁽⁶⁾

Evangelicals were concerned for the spiritual state of Newfoundland, and one of the English fish merchants who traded there was

Samuel Codner.^(A) Codner called a meeting at the London Coffee House on Ludgate Hill on 30 June 1823 'for the purpose of establishing a Society to promote the Education of the numerous Poor in Newfoundland.'⁽¹⁾

At that meeting Codner, who originated the plan, rose to say,

'I ought to take some shame to myself that I had not sooner made some efforts to plant schools there--this I strongly felt, as I heard Lord Liverpool [Prime Minister] declare, when he presided at the Bible Society in Margate, in October 1821, that Britons had a special duty to perform arising out of their extensive colonies...and his Lordship appealed to them...to exert themselves to remedy the evil...⁽²⁾ from that day I commenced my efforts for a School Society.'

In October 1821, speaker and hearer both saw a vision. The Prime Minister saw a need; Codner saw how to implement a plan for Newfoundland. In calling the meeting in June 1823 Codner felt that he had been negligent.^(B) J. Dent, M.P. for Poole moved the formation of the 'Newfoundland School Society' and the motion was carried unanimously.⁽³⁾ Lieutenant Vicars, who seconded the Rules and Regulations,^(C) and who had spent five years on the island from 1814, referred to the proneness of human nature to degenerate in unfavourable circumstances - a considerable portion of the population were of the lowest orders of Irish immigrants. This he attributed to the scarcity of Protestant clergy,^(D) the isolation of a scattered population along a sinuous shore, the difficulties of communication and the lack of education.⁽⁴⁾ Mr. Bacon proposed the object of the Society 'To teach the people the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the way of salvation revealed in them.'⁽⁵⁾ Rule 2 stated that the 'Schools shall be managed by Masters and Mistresses of the United Church of England and Ireland, and conducted as nearly as circumstances may permit, on Dr. Bell's System.'^(E) Lieutenant Vicars had made it clear in his speech that the principle of the proposed Society was not narrow and exclusive, but liberal and comprehensive. Though they were founding a Church Society and its first object was to teach Church of England children, to others it would seek to teach truths held in common⁽⁶⁾ hence the phrase 'as nearly as circumstances may permit'. On these principles, it was supposed, there was no reason for Roman Catholics or Wesleyans to withhold their children. The stand the Society was to make was on Scriptural truth rather than on Denominational teaching; Scriptural education was compulsory, the Catechism was optional.⁽⁷⁾

The Society was set up under the patronage of Lord Liverpool^(F) (Prime Minister 1812-27) and the Presidency of the Earl of Bathurst^(G) (Secretary of State for the Colonies 1808-28). The 31 Vice-Presidents included the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (Henry Ryder^(H)), Lord Bexley^(I) (Chancellor of the Exchequer 1812-24), Lord Gambier (formerly Governor of Newfoundland), Francis Forbes (late Chief Justice of

Newfoundland) and William Wilberforce, MP. The first honorary Secretaries were: G.R. Robinson, Samuel Codner and Percival White. The Assistant Secretary, at 13, Salisbury Square was Mark Willoughby. And the first Committee included such Evangelicals as Josiah Pratt and Edward Bickersteth (Joint Secretaries of the CMS), Henry Budd, Samuel Crowther, and Daniel Wilson^(A).⁽¹⁾

Provision was made for setting up Associations and Auxiliaries.^(B) Both were designed to raise funds and appoint correspondents.⁽²⁾ In the first year Codner undertook extensive visiting in England, Ireland and Scotland connected with the Newfoundland trade,⁽³⁾ in an effort to establish branch Societies.

The Committee appealed to Lord Bathurst for a grant of land for schools and free passages in HM vessels, and this assistance was given.⁽⁴⁾^(C) Free passages were granted to Mr. and Mrs. Jeynes^(D) and Mr. Fleet, and they sailed on 13 July 1824 and arrived at St. John's (Newfoundland) on the following 26 August.⁽⁵⁾ A temporary building was rented for £35 for one year, and an advertisement was inserted in the colonial newspapers to the effect that a school would open on 20 September, to which the poor of all denominations were welcome. The teachers visited the area systematically and discovered seventy-five children.⁽⁶⁾ Correspondence refers to three groups of people: children too young for work, for whom the school in St. John's was so successful - after only three months 132 children were attending, and children were refused unless the teachers were satisfied that parents could not afford to pay for education;⁽⁷⁾ young men working on the wharfs, the most difficult group; and adults, for whom an evening school was begun and as many as forty attended.⁽⁸⁾ Sunday Schools were promoted in an attempt to reach the second group.⁽⁹⁾

Applications began to come from the out-harbours for schools, and the Committee adopted the policy of going where the numbers were greatest and where the inhabitants could help to meet expenses.⁽¹⁰⁾ After six months there were (March 1825) 249 children and ninety adults attending the central school at St. John's, and a further forty-three attending at the Branch School^(E) at Quidi Vidi.⁽¹¹⁾ In the following year schools were opened at Trinity, Harbour Grace (with a Branch at Carbonnière) and Petty Harbour.⁽¹²⁾ Bonavista opened in 1826 with ten children and in two months reached 102.⁽¹³⁾ In the three years 1824-6 five principal and two branch schools had opened with 965 children, and 274 adults in daily school, and 429 in Sunday schools.⁽¹⁴⁾

The men would work in gangs to clean the ground granted by the Government,⁽¹⁵⁾ and then built a school of wood.⁽¹⁶⁾ The children would bring candles and wood (for light and fuel) to keep expenses down. ⁽¹⁷⁾

As well as teaching, the staff undertook visitation work and tract distribution,⁽¹⁾ started lending libraries⁽²⁾ and became nurses during epidemics.⁽³⁾ The children were encouraged by the gift of end-of-term reward tickets with which they could buy books.⁽⁴⁾ The men would in addition act as lay-readers. On Sundays morning school before the service consisted of reading and spelling, the afternoon was given to hymns, Bible reading and catechism, and in the evening senior scholars were examined on the sermons of the day. Afterwards questions were given to consider before the following Sunday.⁽⁵⁾ Teachers also took every opportunity to do general missionary work, and we read of their lending Testaments to sea captains who traded in St. John's^{(6)(A)} and that these were generally read. They also distributed parcels of clothing among the destitute.⁽⁷⁾ The NSS received grants of literature from the British and Foreign Bible Society, Prayer Book and Homily Society, the Religious Tract Society and the Sunday School Society.⁽⁸⁾

In the 1827 Report, the Committee expressed its desire

'to follow peace with all men, to avoid everything in the shape of collision or opposition, and to aim, by kindness and liberality to unite all denominations in one bond of union. They are prepared to sacrifice everything but principle for peace and they will unfeignedly rejoice in the prosperity of every other institution in Newfoundland which shall co-operate with them in the great work of Scriptural education.' (9)

The SPG was at work in Newfoundland but its efforts were inadequate to meet the demands of education for a growing population.^{(10)(B)}

Mark Willoughby visited Newfoundland in 1826 to gain information about the needs and resources of the island and to cement friendly links between it and the homeland. He visited all the stations, found them to be in a prosperous state, and their teachers satisfactorily upholding the character of the Society.⁽¹¹⁾ By that year the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam became Vice-Patrons, five bishops (including Salisbury and Norwich), nine lords and eleven MPs became Vice-Presidents.⁽¹²⁾

II.1.2. The Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor.

The Committee of the NSS never intended to stop at Newfoundland

'But as they were favoured by Divine Providence, to penetrate the recesses of North America and carry the lamp of Christian knowledge into the Canadas, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia... the population of these colonies consist of hundreds and of thousands; and the ecclesiastical establishments formed by the Government, or conducted under the management of the Society "for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts" are unequal to the spiritual wants of the great and growing population of these provinces...especially as regards the education of the rising generation. The extension therefore... is contemplated, not in the spirit of rivalry or inter-

ference, but of love...to aid, as an auxiliary every Christian Institution within the sphere of its operations.' (1)

In its 1838 Report the Committee stated its intention of trying to 'work upon a wider scale, and extending the operations of the Society to the adjacent Continent of North America.'⁽²⁾ Meanwhile, at the Annual Meeting on 13 May 1829, the motion was put by the Rev. David Jones (chaplain to Hudson's Bay Company) to extend the work and it was carried unanimously.⁽³⁾

Mark Willoughby made a second tour as Superintendent in the Colonies in 1829, to inspect the schools, to assess the needs of the settlements, to confirm existing interests and gain further support.⁽⁴⁾ It was also intended that he should visit the American colonies but this was delayed because of the difficulty of financing any work there through lack of funds.⁽⁵⁾ Some improvement however did occur and he visited Canada from 12 October 1832 to April-May 1833.⁽⁶⁾ He travelled from Halifax to York (Upper Canada) via Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Upper and Lower Canada, and returned via Montreal to Quebec. This tour included a visit to Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island.⁽⁷⁾ He reported that he could locate fifty teachers, that passages and support for two to three years only need be guaranteed from England, and that the Government Legislatures in Upper Canada would encourage the formation of schools.⁽⁸⁾

The 1829 Report stated that the zeal of the inhabitants for education outstripped the scanty resources of the society, and that the people were building schools in the expectation of teachers being sent!⁽⁹⁾ But by 1831 the Society had not had enough public support and encouragement to warrant an extension.⁽¹⁰⁾ Such was the Society's financial position that it was proposed to liquidate it in view of an £800 debt.⁽¹¹⁾ Yet, Willoughby wrote in his journal that the Bishop and clergy of Montreal regarded 'the introduction of the schools into Canada as a most important auxiliary to the cause of religion and the church, and have expressed themselves prepared to render every assistance in their power.'⁽¹²⁾

Finally, in 1838, came the long awaited advance when Willoughby took with him Mr. and Mrs. King and their two children. Lower Canada was largely a French-speaking Roman Catholic province. Many of the schools there, built by grants from the local Legislatures, were closed through lack of suitable teachers and funds. 'In others the persons engaged as Teachers were not only of an inferior description in point of character

as well as attainments, but that in many instances their instructions were highly dangerous to the principles of their pupils and inimical to the institutions of their country.' That is they were subversive. The authorities proposed a system^(A) based on the Irish Board of Commissioners⁽¹⁾ to which the Bishop and clergy objected on religious grounds.⁽²⁾ It was a secular scheme: teachers were to be appointed by a Board of Trustees nominated by the Government which was not concerned about scriptural education.⁽³⁾ The Diocese needed the support of the Society to extend its operations and to counteract these secular proposals.⁽⁴⁾ Mr. and Mrs. King were located in Sherbrook, Eastern Township and began work on 7 January 1839.⁽⁵⁾ In the next thirty years the Society founded or aided 113 schools in this lower province alone.⁽⁶⁾

Dr. Aubrey George Spencer (Bishop of Newfoundland) ordained Willoughby and three others in 1839⁽⁷⁾ and Willoughby moved to Canada.⁽⁸⁾ The idea of the 'deacon-schoolmaster' was a new development in the church. The Bishop wrote,

'their ordination will materially increase their usefulness, and strengthen our hands in their respective districts: it will not withdraw them an hour from the schools, but it will give to hundreds who are willing members of our church the means of grace from which they have been too long debarred.'⁽⁹⁾

Since the start of operations the Society's schoolmasters had acted as catechists, and read service in the churches or schoolrooms in the absence of a clergyman.^{(10)(B)} Bishop Spencer, in a letter to the clerical Secretary (dated 25 July 1840), said, 'The teachers...have held together the congregations of the Church of England, by acting gratuitously as Readers.'⁽¹¹⁾ The purpose of this arrangement was for the deacon-schoolmasters^(C) to take pastoral charge of the people in their district.⁽¹²⁾

For the reasons already referred to, the Bishop of Montreal, (G.J. Mountain) was anxious for a wide diffusion of the Society's schools and in 1840 preparations were made for the opening of a further thirty.⁽¹³⁾ The 1842 Report stated that the Bishop of Montreal ordained nine schoolmasters,⁽¹⁴⁾ and, in giving episcopal testimony to the schools, he referred to the confidence he had in men like Willoughby and William Bennett Bond,^(D) and to the provision of 'men for the ministry' which the Diocese had derived from the Society.⁽¹⁵⁾

Meanwhile, by 1838 the Governor of Upper Canada had finished locating the Indians in reservations and proposed applying to the N & BNASS for missionaries and schoolmasters.⁽¹⁶⁾ This was the beginning

of operations among the Indians in Canada. The 1838 Report also referred to the beginnings of work among the French Canadians.⁽¹⁾ By 1841 there was a strong and growing desire among French Roman Catholic Canadians to place their children in 'English' schools.⁽²⁾ The Society alone provided a scriptural education but it was a large field (the British settler, French Canadian and Indian), and its operations had to be confined to Lower Canada.^(A) It was ~~ab~~cause of grief that, when the Society was poised for steady and widespread advance, it had to pause for lack of funds.⁽³⁾ It was in that year (1841) that Willoughby became Superintendent in Canada.⁽⁴⁾

Whilst the struggle to establish a footing was going on in Canada, operations began in the western part of Newfoundland. Mr. Meek opened a station on the Bay of St. George (400 miles west of St. John's) in 1841, and was ordained.⁽⁵⁾ Teachers encouraged the people to build a church for themselves.^(B)

In 1844 arrangements were made for the Normal School at St. John's to be used as a training school for Branch teachers for the rest of the island.⁽⁶⁾ And so began the pioneer work of teacher training: the Society established training schools before state support was forthcoming, and in this way its work had an impact on public opinion regarding the training of the teacher and the importance of his rôle. All contemporary writers and later students agreed on the uniformly excellent quality of the Society's teachers.⁽⁷⁾

II.1.3. The Church of England Society for the Education of the Poor of Newfoundland and the Colonies, 30 July 1846

By 1841 the Society had made its name as a scriptural Education society,⁽⁸⁾ but from that year, when the financial commitments were heavy owing to its extension programme, the Associations' receipts began to decline.^(C) In 1844 the Committee began to think of a more systematic and effective method of dealing with the Associations,⁽⁹⁾ for in that year fifty per cent of the Society's income was being raised abroad.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1846 the Society had responsibility for 116 schools (44 in Newfoundland and 72 in Canada) with 6,885 scholars, though some schools were temporarily suspended.⁽¹¹⁾

The Rev. T.F.H. Bridge became Superintendent in Newfoundland on Willoughby's^(D) transfer to Canada, and on 18 November 1841 he wrote home,

'I spoke to [the Bishop] of my earnest desire...to see the Society come before the public with a more extensive object, proposing to become for the colonies what the National Society is for the mother country; and his Lordship fully approves. I hope you will not lose sight of this.'⁽¹²⁾

The Bishop of Newfoundland, in his reply to an address by the Committee on the occasion of his translation to Jamaica wrote (20 January 1844),

'it will give me inexpressible satisfaction to be instrumental to the extension of the agency of the Society beyond the Colonies to which it has hitherto been confined, and I shall joyfully welcome any of their teachers in this Diocese. I hope that the period may soon arrive when the Society may assume a more general name and character, and be so supported by the British and Colonial public, as to become the principal Colonial School Society in connection with the Established Church.' (1)

The Bishop's letter was reported to the Annual Meeting in 1845 and on the motion of Dr. E. Feild (Bishop-elect of Newfoundland), and seconded by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, Jr. of Islington, and carried, it was agreed that

'This meeting...would...rejoice in any well-matured plan for extending the operations of the Society to give effect to the important suggestion of the Bishop of Jamaica and they would commend this subject to the prayerful consideration of their Committee for the ensuing year.' (2)

A statement was made at the Annual Meeting on 30 July 1846 to the effect that this was the intention of the founders, that the best friends of the Society urged it^(A) and that some of the Associations had anticipated it through special collections.⁽³⁾ The Society's name was changed to give effect to the members' wishes, and consequent changes were effected in the constitution. Henceforth there were to be six laws expressing its principles of action and eleven regulations for the conduct of its business. Laws three to six concerned the agents' relations to their diocesan (later a cause of so much strife) and parochial or missionary clergy.^(B) The intention behind the change of name was clear: to become an official educational agency of the Colonial Church, and, if it was to serve the church, it needed to co-operate with the Heads of the church rather than work independently. This was given expression in its laws - particularly numbers three and four. The point of applying for the diocesan's licence^(C) for a candidate was to 'secure the teaching of the pure doctrines of the Gospel, as defined and illustrated in the Articles and formularies of the Church of England and, at the same time, to combine a just regard to Ecclesiastical Order.'⁽⁴⁾ But at the same time 'only such teachers will be appointed as shall have the entire confidence of the Committee.' The arrangement, the statement claims, 'is founded on the principle of mutual co-operation, the Bishops exercising full confidence in the Committee's management and selection of agents, and the Committee in return placing the like confidence in the Bishops' approval and superintendence.'⁽⁵⁾ This is

workable when a bishop and the Committee share identical aims and theological sympathies, but it is a cause of continual embarrassment and conflict when they differ - as they did under Tractarian bishops! (see p.7 footnote A)

Applications for teachers came from the Bishop of Melbourne (C.Perry) which the Church of England Society was unable to accept through lack of funds.⁽¹⁾ But the Bishop wrote (15 November 1848), 'I should have no difficulty in procuring salaries...if they [teachers] were really efficient; and of sound Christian principles, and if their passages could be paid.'⁽²⁾ The Society began to face not only depressed funds, but also lack of suitable candidates, and schools were being temporarily closed! The idea of the deacon-schoolmaster may have been a mixed blessing after all, for the 1848 Report referred to two of them resigning to give full attention to pastoral work.⁽³⁾ The Society was essentially an educational Society and the Committee determined that henceforth 'ordination of a teacher shall disconnect him from the Society's service.'⁽⁴⁾

As could be expected, the new constitution soon brought the Society into conflict with episcopal authority - and the Bishop of Newfoundland (Feild) withdrew his patronage.^{(5)(A)} Towards the end of the 1830s, the demand was heard (derived from the Oxford Movement) that missionary work, being a matter for the whole church, should be everywhere under the control of the bishops.^{(6)(B)} Feild had Tractarian sympathies, as the 1849 Report indicated when it referred to not only ordinary difficulties but 'to an evil which...is spreading widely...and sapping all that is vital and spiritual in our holy religion.'^{(7)(C)} Two courses seemed to be open to the Committee: to be unfaithful to its Evangelical principles, or to return to its original regulations. It chose the latter course and on 12 June 1849 the Constitution was changed again with 'the universal concurrence of its friends in England and the Colonies.'^{(8)(D)}

The Church of England Society, founded as an Educational organization was from the beginning, as we have seen, alert to more general operations - since the teachers often became visitors and catechists and later deacons. It established itself both at home and abroad as a defender of the Protestant faith. But another Society existed within the colonial field 'based...on the same great Evangelical principles, maintained by the same class of supporters; and contemplating the same field of missionary labour.'⁽⁹⁾ The possibility of an amalgamation with the 'Colonial Church Society' had been mooted for a decade.^(E) But on 27 December 1850 at 4 Serjeants Inn a special General Meeting was called at which the union of the two

Societies was moved and carried to take effect on 1 January 1851, and that the name of the united Society be 'The Colonial Church and School Society.'⁽¹⁾ The strength of Roman Catholicism and growth of Tractarianism had led to the necessity of combined effort in defence of the Protestant faith.⁽²⁾

We now turn back to 1835 to examine the origins of the Colonial Church Society.

II.2. THE COLONIAL CHURCH SOCIETY

II.2.1. The Western Australia Missionary Society, 30 September 1835

Captain Frederick Chidley Irwin^(A) was the officer in charge of the 63rd Regiment sent to support Captain James Stirling, Governor of the Swan River Colony, Western Australia.⁽³⁾ Stirling had given (in 1827) glowing reports of the amenities of the region. The imperial Government allowed a settlement scheme there through fears of French and even American intrusion, but they were unwilling to spend public money. Grants of land were made in return for taking out free settlers in the ratio of forty acres for every three pounds invested.⁽⁴⁾ The settlers arrived in 1829, and Irwin made his home where the Swan River ceases to be navigable.⁽⁵⁾ Perth and Port Freemantle were marked out and by the end of 1830 the population had risen to 4,000.⁽⁶⁾ The chaplain in Perth could reach Guildford for a fortnightly service only, so Irwin decided in 1831 with a Mr. G.F. Moore to hold services in the barracks. This lay ministry continued for several years.⁽⁷⁾ Meanwhile, Irwin had failed to influence the missionary societies to take an interest in the colony.^(B) He visited England in 1835 and published a book on the colony in which he mentioned that the church in Perth was still the only church in the colony.⁽⁸⁾ Irwin turned to the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel when all approaches to the societies failed to produce the needed help. A meeting was called in the Vestry of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row on 23 September 1835 but adjourned until 30 September at 32 Sackville Street (off Piccadilly), London.⁽⁹⁾ At that meeting he read letters pleading for help, and the Evangelicals responded. Among those who bestowed their patronage were Lord Teignmouth^(C) (John Shore) formerly Governor General of India, and Lord Glenelg (son of Charles Grant) the Colonial Secretary.^(D) The Committee included the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel.^{(10)(E)} The general regulations were similar to those of the NSS.^(F) It was obviously established for general missionary work on Evangelical lines^(G) and sought to co-operate with the bishops. Evidence of the struggle to define the respective authorities of bishops and societies is also to be seen in the

history of the CCS, and in the 1842 revision of the constitution, the authority of the bishops was limited to the spiritual jurisdiction of its missionaries.^(A) The point had been clarified in 1837, when it was stated 'Our missionaries will, in all ecclesiastical matters, be under the superintendence of their bishops and independent of us,...just as the...missionaries of the CMS.' The only right the Society claimed was to ensure that their men were diligent and faithful.⁽¹⁾

So the Western Australia Missionary Society was established, and sent out the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani,^(B) his wife and a young catechist^(C) in January 1836. They arrived at the Swan River Colony in the July of that year.⁽²⁾ On 6 September following, the first stone of the first church was laid in the expectation of its opening on Christmas Day 1836. By 19 November three preaching stations had been established: at Guildford, and Middle and Upper Swan River. Services were well attended after some seven years neglect.⁽³⁾ In January 1837, Irwin obtained grants of £200 each from SPCK and SPG for church building.⁽⁴⁾

The contract with Dr. Giustiniani was soon terminated^(D) and the Rev. W. Mitchell^(E) was appointed in his place. The mission house was situated in Guildford from which the missionary itinerated.⁽⁵⁾

II.2.2. The Australian Church Missionary Society

The WAMS was founded for the scattered British settlers on the frontiers of Western Australia 'without pastoral instruction and without public worship.' But from the beginning the founders were aware of the effect for good or ill that the white settler could have on the indigenous population. The first Report stated that the aborigines would not be neglected,⁽⁶⁾ and during the first year of its foundation work not only extended to the aborigines but also to New South Wales. In consequence the name was changed to the Australian Church Missionary Society.⁽⁷⁾ The leaders must have been aware of the rate of growth of emigration and saw that the field of operations must be enlarged immediately to embrace all the colonies. To effect this the name was again changed to the Colonial Church Society in 15 May 1838.⁽⁸⁾ This was precisely one month before the SPG Committee (in June 1838) resolved on exertions!⁽⁹⁾ A circular of Mr. Cavie Richardson of Halifax, Nova Scotia (dated 6 May 1840) remarked that the CCS was formed because of the spiritual destitution of the colonies and also because of 'the avowed inability of the only Missionary Society [SPG] which had previously aimed at their instruction...to meet the numerous calls for help which were continually pouring in upon it.'⁽¹⁰⁾

II.2.3. The Colonial Church Society

The aim was clear: the CCS was to become a CMS for our own countrymen.^(A) It was to devote itself to the spiritual welfare of our countrymen 'wherever they may require and ask our aid.'⁽¹⁾ The principle was that spiritual provision should be made in the incipient stage of the population, and grow with its growth, instead of being delayed until the sad results of the lack of it were apparent.⁽²⁾ In 1838 an Australian Church Missionary Association (in connection with the CCS) was formed with the intention to erect churches in the Upper and Middle Swan and to complete Guildford.⁽³⁾ This was an important step because it induced the colonists to take their own cause in hand.^(B) By 1840 Swan River had raised only £53. The Society decided that it could meet the expenses of the ministry only - that is, to guarantee only the salary of a chaplain.⁽⁴⁾ An Act^(C) of the Legislative Council was passed to promote church building and maintain the clergy on the basis of shared responsibility when the churches were vested in Trustees for the congregation. So Middle Swan and Guildford were handed over with Mr. Mitchell as minister.⁽⁵⁾ This arrangement gave a further impetus to growth, and the Rev. R. Postlethwaite was appointed to Upper Swan on a Government grant.⁽⁶⁾ He and his family arrived on 3 January 1843.⁽⁷⁾ A third district, Albany, was assisted with a grant of £100 in 1845.⁽⁸⁾

By this time other areas in Australia were assisted: Port Philip, for example, where we read of the grant being doubled to £100 for two lay agents later to be ordained;⁽⁹⁾ and Tasmania, where the Rev. D. Palmer of Trinity Church, Hobart was granted £100 towards a missionary or lay agent.⁽¹⁰⁾ These grants were conditional upon an equal amount being raised locally.⁽¹¹⁾ The system of conditional grants was the means of spreading the help over a very wide field, and the work began to extend throughout that field.

II.2.3.1. Other Colonial Operations

The CSS moved first into British North America. The Bishop of Nova Scotia (John Inglis) wrote asking for four missionaries^(D) saying that the SPG had authorized him to engage and pay for them out of the SPG grant to him.^{(12)(E)} This the Society could not do, and the Bishop, in the event, withheld his patronage and assistance.⁽¹³⁾ It seemed that the work was to be restricted for the time being to the educational field and to the supply of teachers (lay agents^(F) only), and to the introduction of improvements in the management of schools until a larger sphere became

possible.⁽¹⁾ Mr. Cavie Richardson was appointed on 21 May 1839⁽²⁾ and was sent on a mission of enquiry which revealed the extent of the destitution, and that the Society would receive a warm reception there.⁽³⁾ Though there were in Nova Scotia those who would encourage more energetic measures - sending clergy out without the Bishop's licence⁽⁴⁾ the Committee moved slowly so that, if possible, all may go forward together.⁽⁵⁾ Mr. and Mrs. Jordan were appointed on 7 September 1841 and sent out with a view to establishing a 'Model School',^(A) at Halifax.⁽⁶⁾ Richardson found an outlet for ministry in the Rev. R.F. Uniacke's parish in the Nine Mile District. From here he itinerated occasionally, visited the negroes of the Hammond Plains, Preston and Musquodobit and started a Sunday school. He recommended that a missionary be appointed for the negroes^{(7)(B)} and later a Mr. G. Bainbridge was appointed travelling catechist.⁽⁸⁾ Jordan's scheme for a training school failed owing to episcopal opposition, the school at Three Mile House was closed and the corresponding Committee dissolved.⁽⁹⁾

Richardson and Jordan, thwarted in their efforts, then went on a tour of the rural and maritime districts where they read the service and the scriptures, preached 'in plain language, on the great doctrines of salvation, and exhorted to repentance...and faith' (see also p.110, Note B 2) and distributed Bibles and tracts.⁽¹⁰⁾ They felt that it was time to establish schools on a permanent footing - the public evidently expected them to do something.⁽¹¹⁾ Richardson became the general agent in 1846⁽¹²⁾ and Eastern Shores became the most important field in that province at the time.^(C)

Richardson moved to Charlotte Town, Prince Edward's Island in 1846 on a mission of enquiry, and to encourage other agents.⁽¹³⁾ A catechist, Mr. Brooks, was appointed back in 1840.⁽¹⁴⁾ But there appears to have been some opposition here too to the introduction of the Society's agents.⁽¹⁵⁾ But the educational work grew, and by 1848 Prince Edward's Island had eight agents and twelve stations,⁽¹⁶⁾ including a 'Bog' school,^(D) under the superintendence of a Corresponding Committee.

New Brunswick then was part of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, and though, when Richardson visited it in May 1841, he found it a wide open field, entry had to be postponed until it became separated from that Diocese.⁽¹⁷⁾ Entry was finally effected in October 1844, when a Mr. Bartholomew was located at Stanley.⁽¹⁸⁾ By 1846, New Brunswick had three agents - two of whom^(E) were ordained by the Bishop of Fredericton.

The parent Committee made a grant in 1847 for an agent in Montreal, Lower Canada and so entered another new field.⁽¹⁹⁾ Quebec and Montreal were two of the largest cities at the time⁽²⁰⁾ and a resolution^(F) came from Quebec after a consideration of the state of religion (G) in

Lower Canada. Recent events had shaken the authority of the established Roman Catholic Church, especially among the intelligent. The Bible was being bought and some Swiss itinerant evangelists and colporteurs were at work there. Quebec was ripe for a 'French City missionary.'⁽¹⁾^(A) The demand for general education exceeded the supply of all existing institutions except those of the Roman Catholic Church. The Education Act (1 January 1842) led to hundreds of elementary schools, but properly qualified teachers were rare, and hence the need of 'Normal' schools in Quebec and Montreal. The immediate need however was for catechists and schoolmasters; ordained missionaries could come later, if the Bishop would grant a licence.⁽²⁾

The move into the west began during this period when a Mr. W. Wood (a catechist) was appointed to Nanticoke on the shores of Lake Erie.⁽³⁾

Meanwhile the Society had sent aid to South Africa. A Mr. Saffery attended the Committee meeting in London on 10 October 1839⁽⁴⁾ just prior to his sailing on a mission of enquiry. He later reported the needs of the spiritually destitute parts of the Mancazana, Knowie and the Winterberg. The population had grown owing to the emigration of the Boers and the newly discovered wool potential of the colony. The Wesleyans, Baptists and Roman Catholics were already active there. In 1841 the Committee sent out two catechists: Mr. Boon, as schoolmaster to Cuylerville, Eastern Province; and Mr. Inglis, as catechist to Capetown, Western Province.⁽⁵⁾ There was considerable movement of personnel and rearrangement of districts in these early years. The Rev. Herbert Beaver was appointed chaplain in the Mancazana and Winterberg districts, and sailed with the Bishop of London's licence at the end of 1841. He began work at Sidbury in January 1842,⁽⁶⁾ but until he arrived Inglis was transferred from Capetown.⁽⁷⁾ Beaver conducted worship in rotation from his home station and undertook pioneer work to establish congregations in the surrounding district.⁽⁸⁾ A grant of an extra £50 annually was made to him for travelling expenses.⁽⁹⁾ Beaver removed to Fort Beaufort in 1843 owing to the death of the SPG chaplain, and as a result of a petition from the congregation for his transfer - the SPG had determined to close the station.⁽¹⁰⁾ In that year a central Corresponding Committee for all the South African Provinces was established at Capetown,⁽¹¹⁾ and one could now look for a more planned growth of the work.

The Rev. T.A. Blair appeared on the scene early in 1841 in Capetown where he tried to form a class or school for the children and adults of the black population who had not been baptized, and who belonged to no religious community. Fourteen or fifteen came regularly to the chapel

on Tuesday evenings.⁽¹⁾ The Rev. R.G. Lamb was appointed assistant to the colonial chaplain at St. George's, Capetown.⁽²⁾ Trinity Church, Capetown was opened on 5 July 1846⁽³⁾ with Blair as minister.⁽⁴⁾ In the Eastern Province work was interrupted by the Kaffir rebellion and stations like Cuylerville were exposed to the fighting.⁽⁵⁾ By 1847, when the first Bishop of Capetown arrived in his diocese,⁽⁶⁾ the Society had established itself in the province. Beaver had resigned at the end of 1846⁽⁷⁾ so that the two remaining Society clergy were located in the Western Province. Boon remained in Mancazana and Winterberg in the Eastern Province as catechist until the Bishop had managed to place a clergyman there. Cuylerville and Southwell were already occupied by clergy who had gone out with the Bishop.⁽⁸⁾

The CCS established a station at Nassau in the Bahamas (West Indies) in 1841. The auxiliary of the CMS had resolved itself into an auxiliary of the CCS and appointed a provisional committee, and submitted itself for the approval of the parent Committee in London.⁽⁹⁾ This move was approved on 14 September 1841⁽¹⁰⁾ and the island committee was reconstituted a Corresponding Committee for the Bahamas and a grant of £25 was made. The CMS Committee concurred and expressed its willingness to transfer the balance of their fund for the Bahamas to the CCS.⁽¹¹⁾ The CMS auxiliary report for 1840 gave the population figure as 1,700 on 500 islands; there were thirteen parishes, but only four were supplied with clergy.⁽¹²⁾ Mr. and Mrs. Keeling sailed for Nassau as catechist and school teachers in 1842.⁽¹³⁾ When Mr. Keeling died in 1843 Mrs. Keeling remained, and her school became a Model infant school so that teachers could be trained for the other islands.⁽¹⁴⁾ A report of the Bahamas Corresponding Committee at this time stressed the need of raising up a native ministry.⁽¹⁵⁾ In this year Archdeacon Trew began his work there and attended to the needs of those of African descent.⁽¹⁶⁾ Mrs. Keeling died in October 1845 and the island Committee asked for an infant school mistress (for Nassau), and an assistant at Harbour Island, and for catechists at The Current and Spanish Wells.⁽¹⁷⁾ In the following year Trew requested further aid for two catechists for the out islands.⁽¹⁸⁾

So by 1847 work had extended from Harbour Island to other parts, and two catechists (J. Polhemus and J.S.J. Higgs) were at work under the direct superintendence of the Archdeacon.⁽¹⁹⁾ There were now six agents: four men and two women. A year later Higgs was ordained by the Bishop of Jamaica to St. Stephen, Grand Bahama with Andros and the Berry Islands, and became responsible for nine stations. The concern, expressed in the 1843 Report, to raise a native ministry, was bearing fruit for Higgs found three volunteer catechists in 1848.⁽²⁰⁾

II.2.3.2. Foreign Operations

A descriptive sub-title was added to the name of the CCS in 1838: 'for sending out clergymen, catechists, and schoolmasters to the Colonies of Great Britain, and to British residents in other parts of the world.'⁽¹⁾(A) This marked a step forward into a wider field. The Society would seek and engage chaplains, and, where necessary, bear a share of the expense of their salaries; but this did not preclude the chaplains from making exertions to finance the work themselves.⁽²⁾ The first grant of £40 for one year was 'made to a diligent and excellent clergyman'^(B) in Italy to enable him to maintain himself in a post of importance' in Bagni di Lucca.⁽³⁾ Services had hitherto depended on chance and for some winters^(C) there were none. The grant enabled Robbins to stay for another season to instruct his own Protestant fellow-countrymen, and to minister^(D) to others who sought the Gospel. The congregation at Bagni di Lucca averaged between 90 and 100; there were two Sunday services and a weekly lecture.⁽⁴⁾ The 1841 Report stated that Pisa and Lucca had become self-supporting and the grant was withdrawn.⁽⁵⁾ The 1839 Report mentioned occasional ministry in Messina, Palermo, Venice, Milan and Sienna.⁽⁶⁾

The Rev. W. Chave (Clerical Secretary of the CCS) undertook a Continental deputation tour in February 1840⁽⁷⁾ and visited Paris (the Rev. Mr. Lovett at the Marboef Chapel) where an Association was formed in aid of the Society.^(E) This was significant because it led to the formation of others. The British Consul wrote to the Society saying that there were 4,000 British residents in Paris but only three places of worship, and they were situated in the more affluent western side of Paris. The north, east and south sides, where the working and manufacturing classes lived, were without ministry⁽⁸⁾ and he recommended the formation of 'house-churches'.⁽⁹⁾ In that year (1839) grants were made to St. Servan,^(F) Lille,^(G) Tours,^(H) and Chantilly.^(I)

At this time the supply of chaplains to the Continent was a largely haphazard affair and congregations fluctuated. Though they were usually able to contribute materially to the expenses of ministry, congregations often needed help to find a chaplain. Hitherto appointments had been a matter of chance (a clergyman travelling for reasons of health or recreation volunteered and this led to a permanent engagement) and there was not the slightest enquiry about doctrine, character or general efficiency.⁽¹⁰⁾ Now that the Society took an interest in Continental stations, congregations began to turn to it to provide ministry, and the best sort of man. The grant, for example, to the Rev. Mr. Carter (Lille) working among the working class English residents enabled him to form a missionary

district to include monthly visits to Amiens, St. Quentin, Arras, Cambrai, Douai and Cassel.⁽¹⁾ A grant to Chantilly,^(A) where there were about 250 English residents 'chiefly of low, dissipated, uneducated well-paid stable and racing boys' enabled the catechist to make a weekly visit from Paris until Lent, when he took up residence.^{(2)(B)}

The skills and industry of the British led to the demand abroad for the labour of artisans and manufacturers.⁽³⁾ Many went with the prospects of better wages but were disappointed, and some, later discharged, were in great distress,⁽⁴⁾ like the foundrymen and factory workers at Fourchambault near Nevers.⁽⁵⁾ It was circumstances like this that led clergy abroad^(C) to request the Society to appoint travelling missionaries or pay the travelling expenses of a man to reach the scattered English populations in their districts. A provisional Corresponding Committee was set up in Lyon as a result of the Secretary's visit in 1841 - the first clerical visitor for four years!⁽⁶⁾ A chaplain was appointed to Lyon with a Society grant, and the Council of the Evangelical Church voted the use of its Chapel to the English free of all charges.⁽⁷⁾

In 1842 the evangelists of the French and Swiss Evangelical Societies were withdrawn because of the poor state of their funds, and this made the English chaplaincy work all the more imperative.⁽⁸⁾ Some expatriates conformed to the Roman Catholic Church, others merged with the Reformed Church of France, but many ceased any profession.⁽⁹⁾ A report was received about the demoralized condition of the labourers on the Paris to Rouen railway and the sailors visiting the port there,⁽¹⁰⁾ and a chaplain was appointed in 1843.⁽¹¹⁾ A catechist was sent to Calais in 1845 to start day and Sunday schools.⁽¹²⁾ This was so successful a venture that Mr. E.A. Argent began a similar scheme in Paris in January 1847, and it was intended to extend this to help Lyon etc.⁽¹³⁾ But February 1848 saw a revolution in Paris, and, through the excitement of the French against the employment of English operatives, many returned to England and some emigrated to Australia.⁽¹⁴⁾ This decline in the number of residents led to the closure of the 'British Free Schools'.⁽¹⁵⁾ Many chaplaincies ceased to exist because of the dispersion of the congregations,⁽¹⁶⁾ and smaller congregations inevitably meant a demand for increased aid from the Society, initially anyway. The 1849 Report stated that the Free School in Paris was again open with fifty children in attendance.⁽¹⁷⁾

Operations, of course, spread into other European countries. A grant of £50 was made to the Rev. H.S. Beresford in The Hague⁽¹⁸⁾ for work among English governesses, tradespeople, mechanics, and servants in the Royal house.⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1849, a site for a church was granted by the

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Dutch Government,⁽¹⁾ and it was opened for worship on 15 November 1846.⁽²⁾ A grant was made for travelling expenses to enable Messina (Sicily) to be opened,⁽³⁾ and a chaplain was sent to Coblenz.⁽⁴⁾ There were many commercial families in Cadiz and the south coast of Spain with no public worship, save an occasional service in the Consul's house.⁽⁵⁾ The Bishop of Gibraltar requested a missionary from the Society for Cadiz and Port St. Mary, and to visit Seville.⁽⁶⁾ In 1841, the High Commissioner for the Ionian Islands requested a civil chaplain for Corfu. An approach was made to the British Government for a grant^(A) and a chaplain was introduced at Zante in 1849.⁽⁷⁾ An assistant chaplain was sent to Smyrna on a Society grant in 1841.⁽⁸⁾

Interlaken was the first holiday seasonal chaplaincy. The Rev. A. Sillery deputized there for the Society^(B) in 1842,⁽⁹⁾ and two years later he applied for seasonal assistance. The Revs W.H. Hill and J.T. Gwyther (Vicar of Madeley) went out as chaplains for four months duty between them in the 1844 season.⁽¹⁰⁾

An interesting diversion took place among the Maltese when a Dr. Bonavia^(C) was accepted as a catechist to complete the translation of the New Testament into Maltese. The establishment of the Bishopric of Gibraltar roused the Jesuits to promote a reaction in favour of the Papacy, and the local bishop's 'pastorale' stifled interest among a few Maltese because the work was identified with Protestantism. Though much violent feeling was aroused, some sixty to seventy came regularly to a mid-week meeting for prayer.⁽¹¹⁾ The work expanded, Bonavia moved to Valetta and gave lectures on three nights a week.⁽¹²⁾ His ministry excited a general spirit of enquiry among the Maltese.^(D) The Society sent out an assistant catechist^(E) who arrived on 14 August 1846. But about this time Bonavia was dismissed,⁽¹³⁾ and Jordan set himself to learn the native language. Meanwhile he concentrated his energies upon the sailors, soldiers, dock-yard workers, the hospitals and the gaol.⁽¹⁴⁾ However, he dropped tracts in Italian in the streets of Valetta.⁽¹⁵⁾ On the Bishop of Gibraltar's suggestion he held services on the ships in harbour which may have led eventually to the 'floating chapel' work.⁽¹⁶⁾ A Signor Crespi (F) was sent to assist in 1847, chiefly for those who spoke Italian (both Maltese and Italians), but on the establishment of the Malta Protestant College, he was withdrawn.⁽¹⁷⁾ The College comprised a band of ex-Roman Catholic priests (who were able to undertake Crespi's work) whilst training for missionary work to the Eastern world.⁽¹⁸⁾ Malta seemed to be a spring-board for work in the west or east!

Work began also to develop in other parts of the world. In

India a large class of people were rising who were children of mixed marriages of English and Indians, some of whom were well educated and wealthy. In the Vepery district of Madras there were some 3,000 of these Anglo-Indians who spoke English and were Protestants.⁽¹⁾

Mr. T.B. Clarke was working among them in connection with the Madras Corresponding Committee and Mr. W. Parkin^(A) was sent to assist in 1848.⁽²⁾ Eventually, in 1849 a Rev. J.B. Sayers sailed as minister of the Mount Road Chapel;⁽³⁾ he wrote on 3 September that measures were taken to build a church, and within one week fifty percent of the cost was subscribed by the Anglo-Indians themselves, and the foundation stone was laid!⁽⁴⁾ This was an important class of people who could be instrumental in the evangelization of India, but who did not come within the sphere of work of ordinary missionary societies.⁽⁵⁾

The Bishop of Hong Kong (Victoria) - G. Smith - appealed for a missionary or catechist for the 10,000 sailors who frequented the Chinese ports, and a Mr. J. Holderness (an ex-seaman) was appointed to visit shipping between Hong Kong and Whampoa (ninety miles up the Canton River).⁽⁶⁾ He was to be made Deacon at Christmas 1850 after a probationary period.⁽⁷⁾

Enquiries were received from St. Michael's, The Azores for assistance to travel to the other islands,⁽⁸⁾ from Mexico,⁽⁹⁾ from St. Helena for educational as well as general work,⁽¹⁰⁾ from the Falkland Islands,^{(11)(B)} and from the English chaplain to Buenos Aires, who wrote that there were 500 in Monte Video where a church was being built^(C) but where there was no official tolerance as in Buenos Aires but where no obstacles would be put in the way of private worship.⁽¹³⁾ Enquiries were made by the Society where they thought there might be a need.^(D) By 1849, the Society was assisting forty-three agents on an annual income of less than £4,000.⁽¹⁴⁾

Within a decade the CCS had a world-wide involvement and influence. It seems, however, that it was its work in British North America, where it entered the same field and faced the same opposition^(E) as the NSS, which led the two Societies to consider amalgamation. (see pp. 284)

* chaplain.⁽¹²⁾ He also mentioned the need of Colombia, where there was^{no}

Footnotes

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- A. Samuel Codner (1777-1858) went to Newfoundland in 1788, aged 12, to grow up in the family business at Petty Harbour (8 miles from St John's, where he lived). (JD Mullins, Our Beginnings, 1923, p.3) Codner took Sunday School and read prayers to adults in Petty Harbour. (1889 Report, CCCS, p.85) He was the first honorary joint Secretary of the NSS, retired in 1831 and died in 1858 (aged 82) and was buried in the churchyard of St Petrox, Dartmouth. (Mullins, op cit, p.8)
- B. There is a romantic story, often thought to be the turning point at which he vowed to serve God, though there was no reference to it in his speech at the founding meeting. As he was returning from Newfoundland to winter in England, his ship, the 'Mercury', was caught in a storm 300 miles west of Ireland (lat.49.30N, Long. 13W) on 16 May 1820. It turned on its beam ends and remained in that position for 25 minutes, wallowing precariously. (Mullins, *ibid*, p.3} Greater Britain Messenger, 18, 1880, p.89)
- C. For full text of the 16 Rules and Regulations see Appendix C, p.179.
- D. The inhabitants of a place like Pouch Cove spoke of the appearance of missionaries like comets - four visits in forty years ! (1829 Report, NSS, p.34)
- E. Dr Bell's system. Dr Bell (1753-1832) went to Madras in 1787 as an East India Company chaplain, where he supervised education at the military orphan school. He returned to England in 1796 and in the following year published a report on a system of education: an 'Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum of Madras; suggesting a system by which a school or family may teach itself under the Superintendence of the Master or Parent.' This system was introduced at the Charity School of St Botolph's, Aldgate, and then spread. (Dict.Nat.Biog, 1908, vol.2, pp.149f) It was a system of mutual help by which the older students (called monitors) instructed younger ones in lessons they themselves have mastered. The method consists of drill and memory work - largely mechanical; but this technique allowed the master to supervise large numbers when it was difficult to obtain teachers of any kind. The advantage of the system lay in its recognition that teaching methods need to be acquired, and a university training was not a teaching qualification in itself. (FW Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 1952, p.105) The teachers and monitors of the NSS were trained at the Central National Schools (Baldwin Gardens) which was under Church of England patronage, and the Bell system was intended to counteract the system of the undenominational Lancastrian* or British Schools. (Rowe, *ibid*, p.39) It was a very economical system: a ratio of 1 adult to 1,000 children was possible. (JRH Moorman, A History of the Church of England, 1958, p.325) An example from the Society's history is that of the Mosquito Cove Branch School under the supervision of Mrs Kingswell of Harbour Grace, which received its instruction from a monitor taught by her. (1829 Report, NSS, p.36)
- * Joseph Lancaster's (1771-1838) system adopted the pupil-teacher idea of Bell, but it rejected all distinctive religious formulae in favour of general Christian principles. (Warre Cornish, A History of the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century, vol.I, pp.91f) There were two home educational Societies in this period: the Royal Lancastrian Society (1808) for undenominational teaching, which was the nucleus of the British and Foreign School Society (1814). (Warre

Cornish, *ibid*, pp.93,96); and the National Society of the Church of England for Church teaching. (SC Carpenter, Church and People, 1933, p.68 - quoting J Jay, Public Education, 1853, p.114)

- F. RB Jenkinson (1770-1828), Second Earl of Liverpool became an MP for a Yorkshire constituency in 1790, succeeded to the Earldom in 1808. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.10, pp.748ff)
- G. The Third Earl (1762-1834) succeeded in 1894 and was Secretary for War and the Colonies in Lord Liverpool's administration (1812-28). (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.I, p.1,328)
- H. Henry Ryder (1777-1836) was ordained in 1800 and became Rector of Lutterworth in 1801 and Dean of Wells eleven years later. In 1815 he was nominated to the Bishopric of Gloucester and was translated to Lichfield in 1824. He was an Evangelical and a friend of Hannah More. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.17, pp.534ff)
- I. Nicholas Vansittart (1766-1859) was an MP from 1796-1822; Secretary for Ireland 1805 and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1812-22. He was created first baron in 1823. He was President of the British and Foreign Bible Society. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.20, pp.140-4)

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- A. Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington, served on the NSS Committee from its inception and was honorary Secretary in 1831.
- B. The difference between the two appears to be that an Auxiliary had greater autonomy. (1823 Report, NSS, pp.5f) See Appendix B, p.175 note C.
- C. A Government grant of £500 for the Central School and £100 for the schoolmaster was obtained. (1828 Report, NSS, pp.53f)
- D. The policy was, where possible, to staff the schools with a husband and wife and to send out both as trained teachers. (Rowe, *op cit*, p.40)
- E. Branch schools were an important feature of the operations of the Society. (1842 Report, NSS, p.18) They became more important as the SPG withdrew. Branch schools were not a drain on the Society's funds since their expense was met from receipts in the colony. (1834 Report, NSS, p.6)

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- A. In 1834, 1,222 ships arrived in port with 8,000 men. (1835 Report, NSS, p.6)
- B. The SPG had aided Bonavista since 1726 and other and larger centres on the east and south-east coasts, such as Harbour Grace and Trinity, but probably did not keep more than six at a time. From the foundation of the NSS, it began to devote itself to purely religious activity, and by 1843 it had discontinued this side of its work. (Rowe, *op cit*, p.29) Actually the circumstances of the SPG had altered so as to demand the 'withdrawal of many of its stipendiary missionaries and the closing of most of its schools' by 1835-6. (1834 Report, NSS, pp.2f) 1836 Report, NSS, p.11) The NSS took over the SPG school at King's Cove as a Branch school, for example, at a cost of £20 annually. (1835 Report, NSS, p.4) There existed one free school in Newfoundland before the NSS began its operations (St John's Charity School) founded by Admiral Lord Gambier in 1804 when Governor, but this united with the NSS Central Schools on 6 September 1834 and took the name 'Central Union School'. (1834 Report, NSS, pp.3f)

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- A. The proposals of the Government scheme of education were the election of Commissioners of Education by majority vote (in a predominantly RC country this meant RC Commissioners with an RC priest as chairman); Commissioners were to be given absolute power to accept or reject school books (the Bible was rejected and this caused the struggle over religious education); the Act gave power to dissent, and the right for dissenters to organize their own schools, though grants were made proportionally (the dissenting population was small); dissenters were taxed for the school building and repair fund but existing school houses were confiscated and they were excluded from benefit from the repair fund. Hence the need for the Society's support. (1845 Report, NSS, p.22)
- B. The SPG employed catechists to aid missionary clergy until the withdrawal of the Parliamentary grant. It was also, it seems, a practice in other colonies. (1838 Report, NSS, p.18)
- C. The Society was conscious of the need of ordained missionaries. (1836 Annual Meeting reported in 1835 Report, NSS, p.viii) There had also been a debate in 'The Record' newspaper about the Society extending operations by sending ordained missionaries. (1837 Report, NSS, p.12)
- D. William Bennett Bond (1815-1906) emigrated and became a lay reader in Newfoundland and was ordained in 1840 after attending Bishops College, Lennoxville, and for two years organized missions and founded schools in connection with the NSS. In 1842 he became missionary in Lachine and six years later curate of St George's, Montreal. He was Secretary of the Society's schools from 1848-72 in the Montreal Diocese. He succeeded as rector in 1860 and in 1872 became Dean of Montreal. Six years later he was elected Bishop of Montreal and in 1901 the Bishopric of Montreal was raised to the rank of Archbishop. In 1904, on the death of Robert Machray (Rupert's Land), he was elected Primate of All Canada. (Diot.Nat.Biog, vol.13, p.192)

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- A. 20 schools along the frontier, 11 in French parishes, 13 in Eastern townships and 24 along the St Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers. (1843 Report, NSS, p.15)
- B. At Belloram, Fortune Bay, for example, a school was established in 1842 by a Mr Polden (a licensed reader)); on 25 August 1845 the Bishop consecrated a church - the first clergyman to visit the settlement ! (1845 Report, NSS, p.17)
- C. These were years of economic depression at home. (1847 Report, NSS, p.28)
- D. Willoughby died in 1847 from a disease contracted whilst visiting an emigrant hospital. (1847 Report, NSS, p.28)

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- A. The Bishop of Montreal wrote, 'The idea...constituting the...Society a general Society, to be secured in perpetuity under the auspices of the Church of England, for the promotion of education in the Colonies ...distinguishes it from a missionary Society, it might...become one of the prominent institutions of the parent land for advancing the cause of the church.' (Montreal to Lord Bexley, 26 June 1845 - 1846 Report, NSS, pp.6f) The Bishop of Jamaica promised 50% of each master's salary. (1846 Report, NSS, p.7)
- B. See Appendix C, p.180.

- C. The SPG strictly controlled its missionaries. It respected a Bishop's right to issue licences but reserved the freedom to select its agents. (Cnattingius, Bishops and Societies, pp.25f) Relationships between Bishops and Societies deteriorated after 1787, when the first independent Colonial Bishop (Dr Charles Inglis) was consecrated. (Cnattingius, *ibid*, pp.26f) Inglis was a 'High' Anglican with a monarchical view of episcopacy and his relations with the SPG were far from happy. (Cnattingius, *ibid*, p.31) Problems seemed to occur whenever there was an energetic episcopal jurisdiction within a Society's colonial field.

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- A. The Colonial Church Chronicle (organ of the Colonial Bishops Fund) remarked that the Special Meeting which altered the fundamental rules of the Society made it impossible for Feild to continue a member of the Society and co-operate. (Colonial Church Chronicle, 1848, p.394) Yet when the Newfoundland Bishopric was founded in 1839, the Society's constitution, principles and operations were sifted and tested, and gained the Bishop's (Spencer) unqualified approval. (1843 Report, NSS, pp.10f)
- B. Ultimately the idea derived from the Acts of the General Convention of PECUSA in 1820 and 1835. Through Bishop Hobart's influence the constitution of the Missionary Society of PECUSA, created in 1820 by the General Convention made the Presiding Bishop President and all other bishops Vice-Presidents of the Society. Later (1835) all Church members likewise were made members of the Missionary Society. (Cnattingius, *op cit*, p.71) GW Doane (Bishop of New Jersey), a pupil of Hobart, preached a sermon entitled 'The Missionary Bishop' at the consecration, during the 1835 General Convention, of Jackson Kemper as 'missionary Bishop' for Missouri and Indiana. (Cnattingius, *ibid*, pp.199ff) The new idea was that the bishop was part of the pioneer force in missionary work.
- C. FW Rowe in his 'History of Education in Newfoundland' indicates that this was the reason for Feild's attitude in his relations to the Society. (p.47)
- D. For the constitutional changes see Appendix C, p.180.
- E. Samuel Codner (though he retired as Hon. Secretary in 1831) addressed the Committee of the CCS on 19 February 1839 (when that Society was in its infancy) and urged the union of the CCS with the NSS. (Min. 436, CCS, 19 February 1839) A sub-committee of the CCS was set up to consider the matter. (Min.629, CCS, 7 January 1840) Later the CCS Committee wrote to the Rev. W Hazelgrave (Secretary to the N & BNASS) and the reply was dated 11 February 1840. On 18 July 1840 the CCS wrote to say they had resolved 'considering the multiplicity of small societies for similar objects to be an evil, this committee is ready, provided the N & BNASS consider the union of the two Societies to be desirable, to appoint a sub-committee (of both) to consider on what terms the union should be effected.' (Min.663, CCS, 18 July 1840)

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- A. Irwin took up residence finally in England in 1857, and was elected a Vice-President. (Min. General Committee, CCSS, 17 December 1857) He died in 1859. (1859 Report, CCSS, p.30)
- B. The SPG declined saying, 'We have not the means, and we have not the men.' (Balleine, History of the Evangelical Party, p.74)
- C. John Shore (1751-1834) was First Baron Teignmouth created 1798. He was Governor-General of India 1792-8. On return to England he lived in Clapham from 1802-8. (Dict. Nat. Biog, vol.18, p.150)

- D. Teignmouth and Charles Grant senior were members of the Clapham Sect. (FK Brown, Fathers of the Victorians, 1961, p.389; Williamson, A Short History of British Expansion, p.24)
- E. The Rev. the Hon Baptist Noel (1798-1873) was Minister of St John's Chapel, Bedford Row from 1827. He helped to found the Evangelical Alliance in 1846. Three years later, as a result of the Gorham Case he seceded to the Baptists and became President of the Baptist Union 1855-67. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.14, p.534)
- F. See Appendix C, p.181.
- G. 'The Evangelical principles of the Society are the best pledges of its success...their duty...to guard the rising Church in the Colonies from the errors too prevalent in our own communion at home.' (1844 Report, CCS, p.25)

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- A. See Appendix C, p.181.
- B. Dr Giustiniani was a converted Roman Catholic of good Italian family who fled from Italy and renounced Roman Catholicism at Geneva, then became a missionary in France and eventually came to England and joined the Church of England. (1836 Report, ACMS, p.3) 'A gentleman with great literary qualifications, considerable talent, a pleasing address and much assiduity.' (1837 Report, CCS, p.17)
- C. A Mr Waldeck. (Mullins, Our Beginnings, p.15)
- D. Owing to 'some conduct which it appeared to the Committee that they could not overlook, his connection with the Society has since been dissolved.' (1837 Report, CCS, p.17)
- E. Mr Mitchell was ordained in 1826 by the Bishop of London and worked with the CMS in Bombay. (1837 Report, CCS, p.17) He died in Australia in 1870. (1870 Report, CCCS, p.121)

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- A. 'Lord Teignmouth has told me that, when the Society was first established, he submitted the Rules to the examination of the then Archbishop of Canterbury [Dr Howley] and that the Archbishop, having examined them, declared that a Society acting on such rules, was duly and properly a Church Society.' (Archbishop of Canterbury, S/ Episcopal Testimonies, Reports vol.4, CCS/ p.1)
- B. 'If the colonists hope that their spiritual destitution should be... responded to in the mother country...they will prove...that they do not...look to their countrymen at home to do anything for them, which they are able, and may fairly be expected to accomplish for themselves. (1845 Report, CCS, pp.52f)
- C. 16 July 1840. (1841 Report, CCS, pp.14ff)
- D. Missionaries were always ordained men; laymen served as catechists or readers.
- E. The idea behind this was that, since their subsistence would be drawn from funds at the Bishop's disposal, they would be dependent on the favour of their diocesan. (Min.918, CCS, 5 January 1841) The Society's policy was to give their agents financial independence from the bishop - as the freehold gave to the English clergy at home. English bishops abroad had had, since 1826, all clerical patronage formerly vested in the Governors of Provinces. (Min.906, CCS, 15 December 1840)

- F. Licences were not required for lay agents in England. (Min.6367, CCSS, 13 June 1854)

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- A. A 'Model' School was a training practice school for student teachers. (see p.49, note E)
- B. A Mission to the Free Coloured Population was established under the Society's auspices in the next decade.
- C. In 1849 there were 9 agents, 15 Sunday Schools and 7 day schools. Services were held in cottages or school houses, and voluntary help enlisted for Sunday School teaching. (1849 Report, CCS, pp.6f)
- D. This resembled the 'Ragged Schools' of London for children of the destitute of wandering classes. (1849 Report, CCS, p.15)
- E. The Revs J Bartholomew and WN Boyer. (1846 Report, CCS, p.25)
- F. 'That in the present state and prospects of this province as regards the destitute settlements, the French population and general education ...' correspondence should be opened with the Society's agent in Halifax stating an earnest wish 'that his Society should take them under consideration.' (1841 Report, CCS, pp.24f)
- G. When Quebec was captured in 1759, the British acquired all French possessions. But the French there were given religious liberty (to practise Roman Catholicism), and French law was acknowledged. Lower Canada was peopled by those of Franco-British descent, but those of French descent predominated. (Colonial Church Record, CCS, I, 9, February 1840, p.131)

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- A. 'The Church of England seems not to care for the souls of the French Canadians...no Church of England effort is put forth though the Canadians generally respect her more than any other sister churches in the province. The way into Canada at the French portals is open.' (1841 Report, CCS, pp.26f) In the next decade the Sabrevois Mission to the French Canadians was started under the auspices of the Society.

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- A. The motion 'that considering the very insufficient supply of religious advantages possessed by the English residents on the Continent of Europe, and in other places, not being dependencies of the Empire, the meeting considers it to be highly expedient that attention and help should be extended to them by the Society.' (General Meeting, 14 May 1839, in 1838 Report, CCS, p.viii) The Society's attention was directed to a pamphlet entitled 'The Church on the Continent' by the Rev.T Boys, urging the formation of an association at home to assist Continental residents in providing worship. He argued for a new Society with the twin objects of enquiring about the state of the English Church on the Continent and of adopting measures to help. The CCS was acting precisely on the views developed in this paper before its appearance. (Colonial Church Record, CCS, I, 8 April 1839, pp.126f, 128)
- B. The Rev. Mr Robbins. (Min.461, CCS, 19 March 1839)
- C. Bagni di Lucca was a seasonal chaplaincy for consumptives. (1838 Report, CCS, pp.35f)

- D. In Italian it seems. (1838 Report, CCS, pp.35f)
- E. Paris promised an annual sermon and collection. (Min.691, CCS, 17 March 1840)
- F. £50 for one year, renewable. (Min.728, CCS, 12 May 1840)
- G. £80 for one year. (Min.727, CCS, 12 May 1840)
- H. £20 to enable the chaplain to visit neighbouring settlements. (1840 Report, CCS, pp.51f)
- I. £40 for a Mr Tucker, travelling catechist supervised by Mr Lovett at Paris. (1840 Report, CCS, p.52)

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- A. Chantilly was the 'Newmarket' of France, 25 miles north of Paris.
- B. Tucker arrived in Chantilly on Saturday evening; held Morning Prayer and two other services, then Sunday School for 10-12 children on Sunday; visited Courteuil (4 miles) and Mont L'Evêque (7 miles) east of Chantilly on Monday; Lamorlaye on Tuesday; Gouvieux on Wednesday; and Creil on Thursday or Friday. He held Morning Prayer on Wednesdays and Evening Prayer on Fridays, and was at home from 6 till 10 every evening for visitors. (1840 Report, CCS, pp.52f) Tucker was withdrawn on the appointment of the Rev. J Godfrey. (Min.1,203, CCS, 26 October 1841)
- C. e.g. the Rev.E Hedges of Pau, France. (1841 Report, CCS, p.45)

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- A. The Consular Act of 1825 regulated allowances to British Consuls in Foreign parts, and disbursements for certain public purposes. At his discretion, a consul was allowed to pay towards the maintenance and support of a chaplain, ministry and buildings, a sum equal to the local contribution up to £500 (in Europe) and £800 (in the rest of the world). (6 George IV, cap.87, Public and General Acts) These grants could only be applied where consuls were placed; other centres were dependent upon voluntary contributions. (Occasional Paper, CCS, 10, p.3)
- B. And held a collection (£16). (1842 Report, CCS, p.31)
- C. An ex-Roman Catholic priest engaged in Bible translation work. He was supported on his readiness to be received into the Church of England. (1842 Report, CCS, p.24)
- D. Passers-by, including two priests, listening at the windows. (1845 Report, CCS, p.47)
- E. Mr Jordan, Society catechist in Nova Scotia, was sent to Malta for health reasons. (1845 Report, CCS, p.47) He was ordained by the Bishop of Gibraltar in 1850 (1850 Report, CCS, p.60) and returned in the following year to British North America. (see p.48)
- F. An ex-Roman Catholic priest was sent for work chiefly among Italians. Malta was a favourable spot for the evangelization of Italy. (1847 Report, CCS, p.26)

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- A. Formerly, for 10 years, a London City Missionary. (1848 Report, CCS, p.25)
- B. A naval base and re-fuelling depot for merchant men, also important for communications with Britain's Pacific Colonies. (1842 Report, CCS, p.25)
- C. British subjects took the initiative because of the offered assistance of the Consular Act of 1825.(see p.37, footnote A)
- D. The secretary of an African Company was asked to report on the circumstances of residents on the Gold Coast and the means available for their support. (Min.537, CCS, 2 July 1839)
- E. 'It engages that all its missionaries shall be persons who teach the great doctrines of the Gospel, as embodied in the Articles of the Church, and expressed in the writings of the Protestant Reformers.' (Occasional Paper, CCS, 14, 1849, p.8) At the General Meeting in 1843, its Evangelical basis was reasserted in these terms: 'Evangelical truth first; ecclesiastical order second.' (Occasional Paper, CCS, 5, 1843, p.3)

III-V. SURVEY OF THE MAIN MOVEMENTS, DEBATES AND PERSONALITIES OF THE COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY, 1851-1951

III. THE COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY (formerly the Colonial Church and School Society), 1851-70

III.1. The Colonial Church and School Society, 1 January 1851

The NSS and CSS were small societies, and their administrative expenses were heavy compared with the extent of their work. It was desirable therefore to combine the two so as to form one large Colonial Society, which would secure the support of the whole Evangelical body of the Church of England.⁽¹⁾ We have already seen something of the tensions that existed in the Colonial field with regard to Roman Catholicism and Tractarianism, and this union provided an opportunity to reassert the principles of working of the united Society. The CCSS insisted that 'all its agents...should be intelligently acquainted with and steadfastly attached to, the great doctrines of the Reformation.'⁽²⁾ A statement asked, 'Why should not this Society...in the course of a few years,... be entitled to take its place with the Church Missionary and Pastoral-Aid Societies?'^(A) This object seems largely to have been attained, for the 1858 Report remarked,

'The growth^(B) which has marked the career of the Society, and the recognized position which it has at length attained among the greater Societies, are a real ground for devout thankfulness. Through the divine favour its progress has for several years been uninterrupted; whilst its labours have been heartily welcomed, both in the colonies and on the continent, and increasingly appreciated at home.'⁽³⁾

The Rev. Mesac Thomas^(C) was appointed Secretary, and the decade of his vigorous leadership saw advance in six spheres of activity: general missionary work in the colonies; Training Colleges; Missions to the Free Coloured Population, French Canadians and Indians, and to sailors in foreign ports; and chaplaincies to the continent and to the army in the Crimea. The rights of the Society regarding selection, appointment, location and payment of its agents were safeguarded, as well as the spiritual jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop, in its laws.⁽⁴⁾

III.1.1. Newfoundland and British North America

III.1.1.1. Established Work

The financial difficulties that threatened the existence of the NSS were removed by the union.⁽⁵⁾ Over the previous fifteen years the Newfoundland fisheries had declined and the potato crop had become diseased. Extreme hardship was aggravated by a succession of fires,

hurricanes and epidemics which destroyed property - including ships - as well as life.⁽¹⁾ Money was scarce and schools became delapidated.⁽²⁾ The £500 Legislative grant continued however⁽³⁾ and £1,000 of the home funds was spent on education annually in Newfoundland. The schools were inspected from England by Dr. Hellmuth^(A) in May 1856⁽⁴⁾ and in the following year Mr. J.W. Marriott, lately master of the Model school in Halifax, Nova Scotia, was appointed inspector and organizing master of the Society's schools.⁽⁵⁾ His full report a year later revealed an unsatisfactory situation: simple reading and writing, religious teaching from the Bible and the catechism and a small amount of arithmetic were being taught; but there was no grammar, secular history, geography or music! He remarked, however, that this was not the result of inattention or inability on the part of the teachers, but a reflection on the migratory habits of the people and their indifference to education. There had been a constant attendance through the year at Port-le-Grave, but for the rest the programme was interrupted - in the summer the children were employed in 'meeting' fish^(B) and in the winter the families decamped to warmer quarters in the woods. It was a question of priorities, and religious learning was much in advance of other learning.^{(6)(C)} In 1859 Marriott sent home a much brighter picture of the state of the schools. All the teaching posts were now filled (except three which had been abandoned), seven new appointments had been made, and the teachers' salaries raised. He suggested the establishment of separate infant schools for the too many unoccupied infants in the mixed schools designed for older children. Sunday schools were numerous and flourishing, and night schools were held for two to three hours on five nights of the week for three winter months. The Central schools in St. John's became training schools for pupil teachers,^(D) and in all about 2,500 children attended the schools.⁽⁷⁾

General missionary work continued faithfully in Nova Scotia under men like Alexander, who periodically visited twenty stations in over 160 miles;⁽⁸⁾ Jordan, who returned from Malta to Country Harbour in 1851;⁽⁹⁾ and Yewens (Kentville and Cornwallis) who adopted outdoor preaching, which was a new feature of work here though common in England.⁽¹⁰⁾ In the Spring of 1851 Dr. Binney became Bishop of Nova Scotia, accepted the Vice-Presidency of the CCSS and Presidency of the Corresponding Committee, and ordained Alexander and Yewens⁽¹¹⁾ (Jordan had already been ordained by the Bishop of Gibraltar) for their arduous ministry along the sinuous coastline. The Rev. T. Dunn had moved in 1850 from Newfoundland to become inspector of schools in Halifax, and whilst on tour with the

Bishop discovered that twenty schoolrooms were empty and that some twenty to twenty-five teachers were needed. No agency other than the CCSS was likely to rise to this need.⁽¹⁾ But the Model and Training school under Marriott (who later transferred to Newfoundland) flourished at this time,^(A) and arrangements were made to board students from country settlements,⁽²⁾ but it could not meet the immediate need.^(B) Candidates seemed rather to be dwindling because smaller grants-in-aid which were made in fact encouraged larger numbers of students.⁽³⁾ In 1857 the school closed because the number of Church of England members in the province was small and of its need for a larger grant to continue working.⁽⁴⁾

In 1850, Mr. Cavie Richardson (General Agent for the Eastern Provinces) wrote to London to ask for a travelling clerical missionary and general agent because of the limitations of the existing system of pastoral superintendence.⁽⁵⁾ A General clerical Superintendent was appointed in April 1855 because of openings to extend the Society's work - the Rev. Dr. Issac Hellmuth^(C) was sent to form Associations and organize the Committee and to raise funds, so that greater resources could mean the immediate extension of the work.⁽⁶⁾

III.1.1.2. Pioneer Work

The NSS entered the educational field in Eastern Canada and existing schools needed to be placed on an effective basis, then Protestant education could be extended in the Province.^(D) An Auxiliary was set up in Montreal, at the inaugural meeting of which the Rev. W.B. Bond put the motion to start a Normal school;⁽⁷⁾ and attention was given to the establishment of Model and Normal schools, and to the introduction of schoolmasters who could bring improved methods of teaching.⁽⁸⁾ This was the beginning of a great pioneer work in Lower Canada, where, between 1839-58, 111 schools were supported by the NSS or CCSS.⁽⁹⁾ Mr. Hicks was sent out in 1853 and the Normal School^(E) was opened in Bonaventure Street, Montreal in 1854. If a sufficient number of student teachers were forthcoming, monitors would not be used; and, in fact, from the beginning, every class was supervised by an adult teacher. The boys (under Mr. Godfrey) and the girls (under Miss Stevens) were separated for instruction.⁽¹⁰⁾ The sixteen students taught^(F) according to the methods of the Home and Colonial School Society, and were required to teach the whole school and to make lessons suggestive.^{(11)(G)} Within a year there were twenty-two enrolled teachers (though there was room for expansion) and a Government grant of £500 annually for two years had been made to it. ⁽¹²⁾

It was at this time, at the request of the Government, that the Society's Normal School became associated with the more recently founded Normal School of M'Gill College^(A) as a branch Model School, but it was to remain under Mr. Hicks' supervision.⁽¹⁾ In this change the Society saw the best interests of the country at large. It did what the province needed when there was no-one else to do it and at the height of its success, when candidates could always be found for its own schools.⁽²⁾ In addition to the student teachers, Hicks supervised six pupil (apprentice) teachers in the branch Model School. These were pupils of fourteen years of age who would remain for five years and then transfer to the training school.⁽³⁾ At the end of the first united session a large proportion of certificates issued were gained by CCSS students, and several immediately succeeded in gaining appointments.⁽⁴⁾ In 1858 the branch Model School had 400 children in three departments for boys, girls and infants,⁽⁵⁾ and in the 1859 session there were seventy students in training.⁽⁶⁾

The work was advancing and the principles of the Society gaining ground. The Bishop of Montreal (F. Fulford) testified that 'if the CCSS had done no other work than establishing the Normal Model Schools in this city, which it did long prior to any movement of the Government in the matter, we owe it a lasting debt of gratitude.'⁽⁷⁾^(B) The reduction of the Protestant children in the mission districts presented a problem; for example, in one township and parts of three others there were nine schoolhouses not in use and 500 children untaught through lack of the sort of staff the Society provided.⁽⁸⁾ Attention was evidently given to this problem because the Report four years later stated, 'it is especially observable that this working of the Society has gradually produced a complete revolution in this class of teachers...they are becoming as responsible a body as any in the country.'⁽⁹⁾

Though country schools were maintained in the Quebec Diocese, early in this decade pressure on funds prevented the extension experienced in the Diocese of Montreal.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, by 1855 a seamens chaplain^(C) was established at Quebec,⁽¹¹⁾ and a more vigorous advance was expected since Dr. Hellmuth went to live there in the following year.⁽¹²⁾^(D) As a result of the French Roman Catholic work in Montreal, the Quebec Committee established a mission to the French and Germans and the Rev. J.J. Mombert was ordained by the Bishop of London for Quebec. He was to be assisted by the Rev. Mr. Chiniquy (an ex-Roman Catholic priest). The Bishop offered his private chapel for this ministry which began on 6 March 1858 with good audiences.⁽¹³⁾

Lay City Mission work began in Montreal in 1851 on the arrival of Mr. Corbett.⁽¹⁴⁾ The City Missionary undertook sick and hospital

visiting, Sunday services in the hospitals, lessons in Bible and liturgy in the Society's schools, country services, tract distribution (in French and English), emigrant visitation upon disembarkation and the care of orphans and other distressed people.⁽¹⁾ The Montreal City Mission, as it became known, originated from the Sunday school of St. George's Church which largely financed the work.⁽²⁾

During this decade two subsidiary missions^(A) under the auspices of the Society were established in Canada: the Sabrevois Mission to French Roman Catholics and the Fugitive Slaves Mission to the coloured population.

In 1852 there were nearly 75,000 Roman Catholics in Lower Canada. In the country they were submissive to the priests, but in the towns a growing independence of spirit led to widespread infidelity. No organized effort for the Reformed faith was made among the lapsed Roman Catholics by the Church of England.⁽³⁾ However, a small number of French Protestants,^(B) with the approval of the Bishop of Montreal, and the financial assistance of a Mrs. Christie, began to work among them.^(C) The Rev. D. Gavin began work at Sabrevois and, in the early period, two laymen seem to have been associated with him - a Mr. Darey (a Frenchman) and a Mr. Fronteau (a French Canadian convert from Roman Catholicism) - both as schoolmaster-catechists.⁽⁴⁾ The work was, of course, conducted in French.⁽⁵⁾

This mission was transferred to the Society's management in 1852, though Mrs. Christie maintained her support.⁽⁶⁾ The Bishop of Montreal wrote, 'Canada needs an effort like that put forth by the Irish Church Missions...and by the Evangelical Societies, which have done so much by colporteurs and other agencies in France and Switzerland.'⁽⁷⁾ Funds for the work were raised in the United States as well as in Lower Canada.⁽⁸⁾ The Society first made a grant of £75 in 1852.⁽⁹⁾ Gavin died in 1855, but in the Report for that year he is quoted as saying that they currently experienced little opposition. This did not mean that everyone was anxious to become a Protestant, but that they were disposed to listen and to send their children to the school.⁽¹⁰⁾ The mission applied for four extra workers from France or Switzerland,^{(11)(D)} but until Gavin was replaced services were provided by Fronteau.⁽¹²⁾ But in October 1856, the Rev. C.H. Williamson (Pasteur de l'Eglise Protestante Française de New Orleans) was appointed minister and Mr. J. de Mouilpied of Guernsey (a student of St. Bees College) was made deacon and appointed assistant minister, and placed in charge temporarily of the boys training school.⁽¹³⁾ In its early years the mission seems to have suffered from the twin problems of lack of funds and workers, and it was compelled to think immediately of training its own in its own schools. A training

school was established in 1857, and systematic measures were taken to find and to train there French Canadians of both sexes to meet the growing number of applications with offers of contributions towards salaries.⁽¹⁾

The aid of the General Superintendent (Dr. Hellmuth) was enlisted to encourage interest throughout British North America, and at a sub-committee meeting of the Montreal Corresponding Committee on 24 March 1859 (Dr. Hellmuth attending), to gain the sympathies of the whole church and work among all French-speaking Canadians, a subsidiary Mission was established under its own committee, to be called 'The Church of England Mission to the French-speaking Population of British North America.'⁽²⁾(A) An Association Secretary was to be appointed for the Canadas, and there were six promising students in training.⁽³⁾

During the years 1848-54 an increasing number of slaves crossed into the Canadas from the USA^(B) as a result of the Fugitive Slave legislation there.⁽⁴⁾ These negroes were fleeing because of oppression rather than crime, and the character - the social and moral condition - of the free slaves in Canada resulting from Christian institutions was thought to be the strongest argument to influence the cause of emancipation in the USA.⁽⁵⁾ It was, therefore, the suggestion, in 1852, of the Hon. Mrs. Arthur Kinnaird^(C) and the West London Ladies Association to establish a special Mission under the CCSS to set up schools and provide itinerant missionary clergy to visit the coloured settlers. It seems this was a necessary consequence of the movement in favour of negro emancipation.⁽⁶⁾ £1,500-£2,000 would be needed in the first year and £1,000-£1,500 in subsequent years to maintain a work like this. Mrs. Kinnaird planned to raise £1,200 annually through 500 lady collectors each responsible for 10 subscribers.⁽⁷⁾ The Earls of Shaftesbury and Carlisle, the Hon. A. Kinnaird and Sir E. Buxton supported the appeal.⁽⁸⁾ £300 had been raised by 7 July 1853 and the Committee expressed its willingness to appoint an agent and give attention immediately to the question of his location. By 21 March 1854 £800 had been received, and on 16 May of that year the Rev. M.M. Dillon and Mr. Ballantine were appointed agents of the mission.⁽⁹⁾ Enquiries had shown that two agents were necessary at the outset: one for the five townships of Gosfield, Malden, Colchester, Anderdon and Sandwich; and one for Chatham, Dover and Dawn - if possible, a third for London, Norwich and Wilberforce.⁽¹⁰⁾ Dillon sailed on 4 July 1854 with his family, Ballantine and two female coloured teachers (from Dominica),⁽¹¹⁾ and with commendatory letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury (J.B. Sumner) the Bishop of London, (Blomfield), Shaftesbury and others.⁽¹²⁾ At his valedictory meeting on 24 June 1854, Dillon said

that the aim of the mission was 'not to make proselytes, but to bring souls to Christ.'⁽¹⁾ The centre of operations was London (Canada West), and Dillon worked under licence from the Bishop of Toronto.⁽²⁾ Work went slowly at first because interested parties stirred the suspicion of the coloured people by asserting that the mission drew a distinction between white and black, and that it was allied with the 'Colonization Society' of the USA,^(A) but this was eventually overcome.⁽³⁾ A school was opened on 20 November 1854 in a room in the barracks; it began with seven, and within as many days rose to fifty children. The two coloured teachers were in charge under Ballantine's supervision. This was in itself a bold experiment because they were the first coloured teachers of white children (it was a mixed school).^(B) A public meeting on 15 January 1855 formed a local Association with the Rector of London (Dr. Cronyn^(C)) as President and Dillon as Secretary.⁽⁴⁾ The pace quickened because in early February Dillon wrote asking for another mistress, and stating that 450 applications had been received for 250 places in the school.⁽⁵⁾ In 1856 Dillon resigned owing to ill-health and came home; The two coloured teachers came with him to take a course at the Home and Colonial Training Institute in England, but their health broke down and they returned to Dominica. Dr. Hellmuth visited the mission on a consultation basis: the vacancies needed to be filled and the work extended.⁽⁶⁾ In July 1856 the school moved into larger premises in the military barracks which gave it 450 places - but there were by then 960 applicants!⁽⁷⁾ Lack of education was a barrier that separated black from white, and their indifference to Christianity arose from this. Adult schools were also held in the barracks and prejudice was melting away.⁽⁸⁾

A third non-expatriate outlet for ministry was provided by the Society's Indian work. Colonization threatened the livelihood of the Indians, and the Government of Upper Canada attempted to induce the remnants of the tribes to adopt civilization.⁽⁹⁾ A settlement was formed on Manitoulin Island in 1836 for the Ottahwas and Ojibwas, and the Government had sent a civil chaplain, surgeon, schoolmaster and superintendent.⁽¹⁰⁾ Indians were also to be found on the northern shores of Lake Huron, but chiefly on the islands of the Great Lakes.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1841 Dr. O'Meara became chaplain, mastered their language and began to translate the Gospels.⁽¹²⁾ Miss Foulkes went to Mahnetooahning on Manitoulin Island and worked there under Dr. O'Meara's supervision. But another assistant was needed, and when the Bishop of Toronto guaranteed a moderate stipend, the SPG an outfit and passage, Mr. James Chance went to Garden River. He and Miss Foulkes married in July 1854,⁽¹³⁾ and they moved to

Sault Ste. Marie to take charge of an Indian orphanage.⁽¹⁾ At this point the Society was called upon to extend the work among the christianized Indians,⁽²⁾ and the mission was transferred to the CCSS.⁽³⁾ The Oneidas held a tribal council and voted to raise £15 for one year and to build a house for a teacher.⁽⁴⁾ In 1856 a Corresponding Committee was formed at Toronto through Dr. Hellmuth,⁽⁵⁾ and in October that year a native Indian (Peter Jacobs^(A)) was ordained to Mahnetooahning. That year saw the completion of the translation of the Book of Common Prayer with the Psalms into Indian.⁽⁶⁾

Peter Jacobs described the habits of the Indians and, by implication, the peculiar difficulties of the work: they do not remain long together (the fishing, hunting and sugar seasons call them away) and few opportunities present themselves to speak to the Indians altogether; visits to their camps are few and far between. The idea was to gather them around him and to teach them to far and settle - but it was difficult to persuade them (i.e. to civilize them as well as christianize them)⁽⁷⁾ Manitoulin Island (population 1,000) seems to have been the base of the work, but services were also held at Little Current (twenty-four miles north), La Cloche (thirteen miles north-west) of Little Current, and Garden River, Sault Ste. Marie - where Chance was ordained priest in September 1857.⁽⁸⁾ Jacobs helped O'Meara to translate the Pentateuch into Ojibwa, which was expected to be complete by the summer of 1859.⁽⁹⁾

In 1859, Dr. Hellmuth wrote, 'The Society is gaining more and more influence, not only with the Evangelical portion of the Church, but with men of mind and intelligence in the community at large.'⁽¹⁰⁾

Whilst Bond and Hellmuth were supervising developments in the east, the Society pushed west. The Rev. and Mrs. W.H. Taylor (CCSS agents in Spaniards Bay, Newfoundland), by invitation of Bishop Anderson, took charge of the settlement on the Assiniboine River - now St. James', Winnipeg.⁽¹¹⁾ Rupertsland was largely peopled by the Indians, with about 7,000 European fur traders.⁽¹²⁾ Apart from the Hudson's Bay Company^(B) posts, the Europeans colonized the Red River area in three settlements, extending fifty miles along the Red River and between it and the Assiniboine River.⁽¹³⁾ The Bishop appealed for aid in 1851, and the Vicar of Headingley, Leeds formed an Association and ear-marked the contributions to support an agent in the Diocese to be called the 'Headingley Missionary'.⁽¹⁴⁾ The agent chosen - G.O. Corbett - arrived in late November, and was made deacon on 19 December 1852. Letters were exchanged between the Bishop and the Society on the question of Corbett's location. It seems that two possibilities were open: to be stationed at Sturgeon Creek (about ten miles from the principal settlement, but within the colonial boundary), or to go to Portage La Prairie (eighty miles from the Red River, beyond

the boundary and under the control of the Indian chiefs - and largely heathen). The Committee stated that funds were only available for the colonists,⁽¹⁾ and Corbett was to serve in St. Andrew, Red River and occasionally go to both the settlements⁽²⁾ referred to by the bishop for work among the half-breeds (Indo-Canadians^(A)).⁽³⁾ Corbett established a work among the English and French settlers, Indians and half-breeds, and in the next year a school chapel was built and consecrated in November.⁽⁴⁾ During 1855-6 Corbett returned to England to take lectures at King's College Hospital in medicine, surgery and midwifery, and then to return to Rupertsland.⁽⁵⁾ On his return voyage to Canada Corbett held services for forty or so Norwegians aboard, destined for the Hudson's Bay Company, who were anxious for regular ministry in Canada.⁽⁶⁾

The Society began work in Britain's only Pacific sea-board Colony at that time - British Columbia - in 1858. Gold deposits were discovered which led to an influx of immigrants. The Rev. E. Cridge (the Colonial chaplain to Vancouver Island) wrote asking for two chaplains: one for Victoria, Vancouver Island, and one for the gold-diggings.^(B) Three months later, the Rev. W.B. Crickmer (curate of Marylebone) was appointed and sailed.^(C) There were two routes for the gold-diggers: through Victoria, up the Frazer River to Langley (Derby), Fort Hope and Yale; or a direct route past Victoria to Langley, up the Harrison River and Lake to the Lillooet Trail, then to the Upper Frazer River mines.⁽⁷⁾ Langley was chosen as Crickmer's centre of operations.^{(8)(D)}

III.1.2. The West Indies

The factor which influenced the Society to support work in the West Indies was its nominal christianization. It had a regular ecclesiastical organization, and for this reason it did not come within the sphere of the 'missionary' societies.⁽⁹⁾ The CCS had established work in the Bahamas under a Corresponding Committee and Archdeacon Trew, but in 1854 a new Bahamas Auxiliary was formed, and the operations of the Harbour Island Auxiliary was extended to the whole colony. An industrial training department was added to the Woodcock Schools in April 1854, and it was hoped that this would become a reformatory for those removed from their home influences.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1856-7 Trew wrote that there was nothing spectacular to report, but that the schoolmasters and catechists were conscientious and 'the population is being favourably influenced; good is being promoted and evil...is being effectively restrained.'⁽¹¹⁾ The Society entered Jamaica in 1856 by sending two laymen for educational work,⁽¹²⁾ and by 1859, Nassau was promised aid for a mission to seamen.⁽¹³⁾

III.1.3. The East Indies

In Madras the Rev. J.B. Sayers^(A) engaged a city missionary and Tamil catechist for the servants (christian or heathen) of the members of the congregation.⁽¹⁾ Sunday morning services were held in the chapel, and over the four months July to October the monthly average in attendance grew.^(B) The Select Vestry, representing the congregation, voted to support the catechist and Tamil schools which were opened, though later the management was passed over to the CMS.^{(2)(C)} The Society increased its financial support, and by 1852 there were four clergy and two catechists on the list. In the latter part of that year^(D) Christ Church (the first of the Society's churches in India) was consecrated and its perpetual nomination was vested in the CCSS.⁽³⁾ In 1853 additional support was given for chaplains at Bolarum and Bangalore, a scripture reader at Vepery, and to the cathedral for a chaplain at Pulicat.⁽⁴⁾ There is also a reference to Trinity Chapel in the John Pereiras District of Madras, and a training school which was attached to Christ Church, Madras.⁽⁵⁾ The work here continued quietly for many years without significant changes.

The Rev. Henry Venn^(E) (CMS) forwarded a letter from the President of the CMS in Agra, India pleading for the education of the East Indian and European youth in Calcutta. The American Presbyterians were . relinquishing this particular school because of their losses at other stations through the mutiny. The Society proceeded with enquiries.⁽⁶⁾

III.1.4. South Africa

The South African Corresponding Committee was reorganized in 1851 and work recommenced; circumstances had been depressed owing to the Kaffir war.⁽⁷⁾ In the Capetown diocese there are no developments requiring special notice, but in the Grahamstown diocese a work was begun among the German legions on the frontiers of Kaffraria, stationed there for the protection of the colonists.⁽⁸⁾ A Mr. Rudolf von Hube was appointed to minister to them and was stationed at Panmure, East London.^{(9)(F)} Von Hube was ordained by Dr. Cotterill in October 1857.⁽¹⁰⁾ By that time some 2,500 Germans (chiefly from the Crimean legions) had settled in this area.^{(11)(G)} In 1859 von Hube appointed a German teacher and catechist, Julius Keitz.⁽¹²⁾ Meanwhile, 1,500 Europeans had settled in the Rev. H. Kitton's parish in King William's Town. Kitton learned German to minister to that community there who looked to him to be united with the English-speaking body; he held worship in German. A serjeant major volunteered as teacher and catechist to this group and conducted Sunday worship and a Sunday school, and Kitton wrote asking whether he could be employed as a

catechist.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop also wrote to the Society^(A) proposing to vest the patronage of various churches in his diocese in the CCSS provided grants-in-aid were given;^(B) and a letter dated 7 May 1858 nominated St. Paul, Port Elizabeth, King William's Town, and rural districts in South Victoria and Albany.⁽²⁾ Meanwhile, the Bishop of Natal (J.W. Colenso) had written requesting aid for missions to white settlers^(C) and the Committee opened correspondence with the Bishop.⁽³⁾

III.1.5. Australia

The colonization of Australia really began after 1850^(D) owing to hardship at home and the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria. The rush of English and Irish immigrants raised the population from 70,000 to 333,000 between 1850-5. Political and economic development was rapid and by 1855 New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania all had responsible Government.⁽⁴⁾ The CCS had 'stations' in Western Australia, New South Wales and Tasmania. Convicts were introduced into Western Australia in 1850, and attempts were made to induce the home Government to make it a reformatory colony. By 1856 it was the only remaining penal colony.⁽⁵⁾ The Society continued its educational work there and the Rev. R. Postlethwaite (Freemantle) established two day schools - one of them for aboriginals. Great importance was attached to this because of continued Roman Catholic infiltration into a chiefly Protestant population.^{(6)(E)} A Mr. Johnston was sent out in 1852 to be master of the school in Guildford, and he was later appointed to a Government Model school in Perth.⁽⁷⁾ The plans contemplated for Tasmania (Van Dieman's Land) had not completely materialized: but a grant was given to the Rev. P. Palmer and a catechist (Mr. Smales) was sent to Hobart for work among 7,000 criminals and their descendants.⁽⁸⁾ In 1854, two catechists (Unwin and Coombes) were sent to the Sydney Diocese; they were ordained two years later - Unwin to a district on the River Hawkesbury, and Coombes to the Western Goldfield.⁽⁹⁾ They were sent to introduce a lay-agency into the diocese (a practice of the home Church), and after they were ordained two more were sent for visitation work, plain preaching in mission chapels and to organize Sunday schools.⁽¹⁰⁾

In the colony of Victoria (formerly Port Philip) a new era opened with the gold discoveries of 1850 which led to an unparalleled immigration. In October 1852 the Governor wrote that the influx was calculated at thousands weekly.⁽¹¹⁾ 100,000 people were estimated to be at the 'diggings'.⁽¹²⁾ An appeal for the goldfields marked the commencement of an energetic and continuous movement. The Bishop of Melbourne regarded

the gold fields as missionary districts, and requested the Society to send both clergy and laity.⁽¹⁾ The Rev. C.T. Perks was sent out and his reports illustrate the problems of ministry in these pioneering districts.^(A) The Bishop of Melbourne (Perry) remarked that the 'diggers' were migratory and showed no interest in the locality, and were in consequence, unwilling to give towards the building of churches or parsonages.⁽²⁾ Though he sent to England for his workers, the Bishop was aware from the beginning of his need to train his own candidates - teachers as well as clergy. In 1850 he requested candidates for a training school in Melbourne,⁽³⁾ and two years later six agents were sent as teachers, and a Mr. Brennan^(B) was appointed master of the Church of England Training School in Melbourne. All teachers spent some time there, though candidates were few (almost anything was more profitable, and some went to the 'diggings').⁽⁴⁾ In 1852 the Denominational and National Boards were sanctioned by the Government,⁽⁵⁾ but the big question was - how to raise up teachers for a nation born in a day! We read that by 1854 there were formed spontaneously no less than seventeen separate schools on the gold fields.⁽⁶⁾ But what of the need of clergy and catechists? In 1851 a Church of England Young Men's Society was formed in Melbourne to aid missions at home and abroad not simply with funds but with candidates. The aim was to plant institutions calculated to develop a missionary spirit.⁽⁷⁾ By 1857 new gold fields opened, new villages were formed, and new land was cultivated, but few new parishes were constituted; and the Bishop suggested that the CCSS should send out young men as ordination candidates, for whom there was no opening for admission at home. The standards were rigorous in the pioneer field, and their call would be given a testing and, at the same time, they would assist the development of church life there.^{(8)(C)}

Mr. Munden was sent in October 1854 as catechist to Yandilla (Darling Downs) in the Diocese of Newcastle. This was a sheep-rearing area and the people were widely scattered over 200 square miles with fifty-four stations. It took him six months without rest to complete his circuit of the area. Schools were established to be the nurseries of the future missionary clergy of the Diocese; masters were catechists, ordinands or deacons.⁽⁹⁾

The 1857 Report commented with reference to New Zealand that, as the missionary Societies to the heathen complete their work, a transition period would arise when applications would come for aid to the CCSS, and the Society must be alert to the new fields of opportunity.⁽¹⁰⁾

III.1.6. Seamens Chaplaincies

The Bishop of Calcutta requested a seaman's catechist in 1852.^(A) A Sailors Home already existed which, in 1851, had received 1,000 men. The Bishop planned to enlarge the premises and the work, and he wanted two clergy and two readers to begin the advance movement. In October that year the Society received a letter from the Bishop accepting its offer of a catechist first, and to make an effort to increase funds locally from the mercantile and other members of the Calcutta community. Mr. H.M. Jackson of Plymouth was sent, and he arrived to begin work on 16 January 1853 among the English and American sailors in port. He held services and visited ships, the hospital, the gaol, and the Soldiers Home; he also undertook tract and Bible distribution.⁽¹⁾ Jackson was ordained on 18 October 1853.⁽²⁾ A provisional committee of an Auxiliary Society had been set up in 1852⁽³⁾ and, in the following year, it requested a floating church and lay agent to visit shipping below Princeps Ghat, and a chaplain for Kidderpore. The 1853 Report stated that a lay agent was in training prior to going out⁽⁴⁾ and he (Mr. S. Belcher) was sent to Kidderpore in 1854.⁽⁵⁾ He was subsequently ordained⁽⁶⁾ and, in 1859, a second agent was sent to give assistance.⁽⁷⁾

Mr. Holderness was ordained by the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong) - G. Smith - on 12 January 1851 for seamen's work there, and in the same year a 'floating church' was fitted out for mariners.⁽⁸⁾ In its first year eighty public services were held there with 1,950 attendances.⁽⁹⁾ From 1853 there was a political crisis in China, and rebel armies were on the move. Many Chinese were emigrating to Australia and California, and Holderness supplied them with tracts and scriptures; sometimes he was assisted by a Chinese catechist.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Rev. J. Hobson (Colonial chaplain in Shanghai) applied for a seamen's chaplain for that port.⁽¹¹⁾ The Bishop indicated his willingness to ordain in England, during his proposed visit, any suitable candidate,⁽¹²⁾ and W.H. Pownall was ordained and sent to Shanghai under Hobson's supervision.⁽¹³⁾ Seamens work also began in Mauritius (Indian Ocean) when the Society supported the Rev. J.G. Richard who ministered to soldiers, sailors and civilians, of French, English, and Creole nationality.⁽¹⁴⁾ This station was regarded with considerable interest because of its strategic importance - the effect a lively work here could have on the heathen Indian and African who visited the port.⁽¹⁵⁾ In fact a catechist came from Madras for Sunday services in Tamil, with an average attendance of thirty-five plus; and distributed the scriptures in the Indian dialects.⁽¹⁶⁾ In 1857 a hulk was bought for conversion into a mariners chapel.⁽¹⁷⁾ Richard also established a French service for French-speaking sailors.⁽¹⁸⁾ In 1859 the Secretary of State for the

Colonies approached the Society on behalf of the Governor of Mauritius for ministry to the Seychelles⁽¹⁾ and, in that year too, the Committee began work in Polynesia (The Sandwich Isles) in the centre of the Pacific Ocean. Honolulu, the capital of the Hawaiian group had a good harbour, and naval and merchant vessels were frequent visitors.⁽²⁾

III.1.7. Foreign Operations

The 1850 Report referred to 'thousands of tradesmen, artisans, mechanics, and domestic servants lost in the mass of Continental populations, and gradually surrendering not only their distinctive character but their distinctive faith. These classes present to the Society a wide field for christian exertion.'

But hitherto the Society's continental operations had been incidental to its colonial work: the occasional procuring of a chaplain, or the occasional grant to a new or poor congregation on a reducing basis.⁽³⁾ For the first half of the decade covered by the CCSS, the work developed sporadically; though as early as 1853 the Committee, in view of the urgent need of our own countrymen in Europe,^(A) were urged to rigorous⁽⁴⁾ and systematic measures in the Continental department. This suggestion was sent to the Rev. W. Chave^(B) (General Agent for the Continent) for comment.⁽⁵⁾ Chave, who had gone to Paris in 1851, undertook tours of enquiry for the Society. For example, in 1852 he visited twenty resorts in France, Switzerland and Germany;⁽⁶⁾ in 1854 he visited Pau because of the prospect of starting two or three chaplaincies in the Pyrennes.⁽⁷⁾ Protestant worship was important not only because of the rising numbers of Englishmen abroad,^(C) but because it was in itself a witness to Protestant truth - in some places all but the voice of the English chaplain were silenced! The national Reformed churches were encouraged by the stand; the English chaplain was often their representative!⁽⁸⁾ The Society became increasingly involved in Europe: the nomination to Interlaken came to it on the death of Mr. Sillery in 1851;⁽⁹⁾ the nomination to Zurich⁽¹⁰⁾ and patronage of The Hague⁽¹¹⁾ in 1854, of Thun in 1852⁽¹²⁾ and Basle, Lucerne, Vevey⁽¹³⁾ and Chamonix⁽¹⁴⁾ in 1853. So the Society began to take a more influential rôle^(D) in Europe in the two classes of chaplaincy: the permanent (for residents) and the seasonal (for visitors).

This led the CCSS to take the suggestion seriously that it should take systematic measures to raise standards and co-ordinate and control the work. There were, as yet, no others in the field.^(E) A considerable amount of anarchy, however, seemed to reign; for example,

Sillery held the Chapel at Interlaken on a grant for ten years from the Government of the Canton of Berne, and he made over to the Society his right of nomination in the event of his death. He died on 4 March 1851⁽¹⁾ and when, in the following June,^(A) the Rev. H. Deck (last Secretary of the NSS) arrived to take the services, he discovered that an anonymous clergyman had posted a notice on the door presenting himself as a candidate for the office, and stating that the Bishop of London was prepared to grant a licence if he was acceptable to the congregation. On enquiry the Bishop of London (Blomfield) stated that he thought the nomination rested with the congregation.⁽²⁾ There was obviously no satisfactory information as to the tenure on which the chaplaincy was held. Sillery's grant from the Canton was near to expiry, and Deck applied for renewal in the name of the Society, with local support.⁽³⁾ The Berne Government renewed the grant for ten years from 1 January 1851. Thus the Society's right to nominate was recognized by the local authorities and by the British Chargé d'Affaires in Berne.⁽⁴⁾ With regard to most of the seasonal chaplaincies, the only resource was to the large rooms of the hotels. The hoteliers derived benefit from English travellers and many were only too willing to co-operate, but this arrangement was open to objection on the grounds of conflicting interests. The hoteliers often held the appointments and the Society assumed the patronage in exchange for an annual grant, thus relieving the hoteliers of a double burden - namely finding and paying for a chaplain. Thun was transferred on these terms.⁽⁵⁾ In some places, like Chamonix, religious conflicts were not the least part of the problem - Europe being predominantly Roman Catholic - and in these cases the only alternative was to erect an English Church!^(B)

The time had come to bring order out of chaos, and for systematic measures to be taken! Chave expressed the view taken up by the Society that English churches must be erected at leading places abroad (Paris, Brussels and Pau were cited) and that only by financial aid could the required influence and patronage be secured that would enable the Society to exert an effective influence in Europe.⁽⁶⁾ At its meeting on 14 November 1856, the Committee expressed its desire to extend its Continental operations and was resolved, if necessary, to recommend at the next Annual Meeting an addition to the Regulations ('to exhibit more expressly their operations on the Continent.' A conference had been held at the Society's office on 7 November to discuss measures to be adopted to secure a more adequate supply of chaplains. Lord Henry Cholmondeley was in the chair. Mesac Thomas (Secretary) explained that the Committee then had interests in twenty places in France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Savoy and Italy. Sir Culling Eardley^(C) put forward three motives for immediate and combined

efforts: the 'semi-popery in several places, the facilities everywhere offered for English Congregations,^(A) and large-hearted clergy to encourage and co-operate with the foreign Protestant pastors'. The Rev. R. Burgess^(B) from his long experience of the Continent expressed his concern (his enquiry five years previously discovered that half the clergy were injured in their reputation^(C)) on account of the manner in which the Church of England was represented on the Continent. The question was what work could the Society do and what control could be exercised.

Three lines of action were recommended: the offer of grants-in-aid in exchange for the right of nomination; an approach to Lord Clarendon (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) for his co-operation in requiring candidates to supply certificates of character from the CCSS; and a circular letter to be sent abroad stating the importance of the matter and offering a grant. A sub-committee was proposed to draw up a scheme for bringing the Continental English chaplaincies under the influence of the Society.⁽¹⁾ That sub-committee recommended the appointment of a Continental Committee of the Society to raise a distinct fund for Continental operations, and offered nineteen names. This minute was confirmed by the General Committee.⁽²⁾ The Continental Committee^(D) resolved: to send a deputation^(E) of one clergyman and one layman to places abroad where congregations could be formed, and to bring those already in existence into connection with the Society; to supply information for the guidance of travellers, and advertise through the public press; and to open a Continental fund.⁽³⁾ A circular letter of enquiry^(F) was sent out and the chaplaincies list was drawn up by the Foreign Office, the Bishop of London and the CCSS for publication in the 'Clergy List' and 'Foreign Office List' under the three categories: Embassies, Consulates, and General.⁽⁴⁾ The Society kept a register of candidates who were

'of catholic spirit, willing cordially to recognize the orthodox Reformed Churches of the Continent... well acquainted with the language of the places for which they were candidates...[and] requested to report at length to the Committee...[half-yearly or more frequently]' ⁽⁵⁾

An application was made to Lord Clarendon^(G) to receive a deputation from the Society consisting of the Bishop of London (A.C. Tait), the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Henry Cholmondeley, the Rev. Mesac Thomas and 7 others.⁽⁶⁾ The Earl of Shaftesbury presented the Memorial^(H) (adopted by the Continental Committee) on 14 July 1857. Clarendon replied that he considered the Society a great public benefactor and promised such assistance as he was able. The Bishop of London expressed his approval of the Continental arrangements, and testified to the Committee's desire to co-operate harmoniously with all recognized authorities and in accordance with

ecclesiastical order.⁽¹⁾ This received a friendly welcome^(A) from Clarendon which would present the work to English travellers and foreign Governments in a favourable light, and would diminish the number of unauthorized and unqualified chaplains.⁽²⁾ In 1857 a letter of Instructions^(B) was drawn up and sent to Continental chaplains, signed by the Bishop of London to sanction its remarks and suggestions.⁽³⁾

In these few years the Society had gone a long way to regularize arrangements on the Continent. With the support of the Bishop of London^(C) it established episcopal supervision through its insistence that its candidates should seek the Bishop's licence - the guarantee of competence. Clearly it worked with the Bishop and sought to establish his authority in the overseas part of his diocese.

Two final aspects of the foreign work complete the picture - Malta and the Crimea. In 1852 it was proposed to set up a Malta Special Fund for a lay mission to Roman Catholics because the difficulties of the language and opposition of the priests hindered other Societies from helping, and the example of the Irish Church Missions encouraged the islanders to make a similar attempt in Malta. The plan was to appoint two lay agents from England, to learn the language and work among the English-speaking Maltese in Valetta, for two years. This was to be supervised by a local committee and the work envisaged was that of preaching and Bible translation and Bible classes for the young.⁽⁴⁾ The CCSS agreed to undertake this work when the local contributions reached £250 annually in subscriptions rather than donations.⁽⁵⁾ A year later Mr. J. Brooks was appointed to the mission⁽⁶⁾ and the work began in 1854.⁽⁷⁾ But two years later the Report mentioned that, though there had been conversations with the Maltese, their minds were closed.⁽⁸⁾ However by the following year some progress had been made because a loosening was reported among some young priests.^(D) Services were held in the Malta Protestant College, in private rooms in Sliema during the winter and in Valetta. But in 1860 the native Maltese work was closed because results did not justify maintaining the grant and Mr. Brooks was transferred to Barcelona.⁽⁹⁾

With its chaplains to the Crimea, the Society began a work popular in the public mind. An opening occurred in a new civil hospital about to be established, and the Society advertised for chaplains and funds. The Rev. W.N. Wheeler was appointed and sent to Scutari on 2 June 1855,⁽¹⁰⁾ and eventually went to Sebastopol as an assistant.⁽¹¹⁾ The Rev. H.N. Bagnell embarked on 2 October 1855 for the hospital at Scutari,⁽¹²⁾ but whilst the Rev. W.A. Robinson was preparing for embarkation he heard that his nomination had been cancelled because the Government intended to refuse the help of the Societies,⁽¹³⁾ and operations ceased. Both Wheeler and Bagnell returned to

England in June 1856.⁽¹⁾

By 1860 the Committee, in answer to pressing appeals, enlarged their field staff and by doing so incurred very heavy financial responsibilities. But the Report for that year observed that a Society like the CCSS must, in the nature of things, be progressive; and though the Committee had been reluctant to incur liabilities beyond what the income for the preceding year appeared to warrant, yet they felt constrained, from time to time, to open new work, where the need was urgent, in faith that the christian public would generously support it.⁽²⁾^(A) That Report stated that recent advances had exhausted funds and no further extension could be contemplated until funds were available to maintain the existing work.⁽³⁾

III.2. The Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1 May 1861

The CCSS Committee adopted a new title at its meeting on 25 April 1861,⁽⁴⁾ and shortly after, at the General Meeting on 1 May, the motion was proposed by the Bishop of London (A.C. Tait) and seconded by the Bishop of Winchester (C.R. Sumner), and carried, to adopt the name - 'The Colonial and Continental Church Society'.⁽⁵⁾ This change was made for two reasons: to reflect in its title more appropriately the two characteristic spheres of its operations and to remove any confusion between the CCSS and the Home and Colonial Schools Society for training female teachers.⁽⁶⁾ There had been considerable growth in the Society's operations and influence as we have seen.^(B) It undertook spiritual work among the colonists and others in spite of the impression that seemed to prevail in some minds that they could be left to themselves to establish and maintain religious services - this was certainly not the view of the Roman Catholic Church, which spent enormous sums of money in establishing itself in Britain's Colonial Empire. The Society was a centre of union among Evangelicals : an Evangelical organization for the extension of Colonial Church missions. It was a pioneer to the other Societies, working, as it did, among our own people, some of whom eventually went to the heathen (for example, the Indians of British North America). It undertook work among foreign language groups in our territories - the French, the Germans, the Africans and Asians for instance, and became widely known for its initiative in inaugurating work among the sailors in widely separated parts of the world. It had made a significant contribution to Continental operations among invalids, travellers, artisans and young people.⁽⁷⁾ So that when the suggestion was made that, since the SPG spent such a large sum on Anglo-Colonial missions, the efforts of the Society were negligible and unworthy^(C) it could justly claim to be making a vital contribution to the work of Colonial missions. The SPG, in fact,

was reducing its grants to the settled British colonies in favour of purely heathen work. The work of the CCCS was therefore all the more important.⁽¹⁾

III.2.1. Newfoundland and British North America

In a tribute to the Society after fifty years work in the Colony of Newfoundland, the Education Committee of the Legislative Council said, 'It [the NSS] was the pioneer of popular education in this island and admitted to its schools the youths of both sexes and of all classes at a time when no public provision was made for any kind of public schools.'⁽²⁾ The years up to 1870 probably formed the period of its greatest influence: it was in those years that it pioneered the training of teachers before state support was forthcoming,⁽³⁾ and in this way began to have an effective influence upon general education in the island. The 1860 Report referred to seven trainees in the Central Schools in St. John's and two in Harbour Grace; four of these were destined to teach in the Society's schools and the five sent by the Board would teach in their schools.⁽⁴⁾ In the following year the Society began to build new Normal and Model schools in St. John's in order to make the training more effective. In 1861, too, a new feature of work appeared when Mr. G. Stokes began mission work among the sailors visiting the port of St. John's.⁽⁵⁾ The new schools were completed in December 1864 and opened in February 1865.⁽⁶⁾ The Report for that year stated that five candidates had completed their training and gone to their stations, and two male and five female candidates were in training.⁽⁷⁾ By 1868 the Central Schools had 543 pupils on their books (with an average attendance of 296) and fifteen pupil teachers, six of whom had been sent by the Government's Board.⁽⁸⁾ Under Marriott, the schools work flourished once more. In 1869 there were 2,100 children attending three schools (boys, girls, and infants) in St. John's and seventeen outport schools.⁽⁹⁾ The quality of the Society's teachers focussed the Government's attention on the need for training.⁽¹⁰⁾

In Nova Scotia an unspectacular, but nevertheless real, work continued. Mention must be made of the Rev. J. Alexander's mission at the Dutch settlement (mid-way between Halifax and Truro) which was referred to in the 1861 and 1863 Reports.⁽¹¹⁾

In Montreal, the Society's Normal School (now associated with M'Gill University) had enrolled sixty-four students. Through the training programme the country schools were bound to benefit since the desire existed to place one parochial school in every parish and mission of the diocese.

Chiefly through the efforts of the Society the Church of England was keeping pace with the general effort to ensure sound education in the province.⁽¹⁾

In the Montreal City Mission perhaps the most significant achievement of these years was the founding of the Bible Womens Mission (1861-74) in connection with St. George's Church. This was financed in equal parts by St. George's Sunday School and the CCCS. On 21 May 1861 Eliza Ransom began her visitation work for five hours per day for three days each week (this was almost immediately increased to four) in the St. Antoine suburb of Montreal. Three rules were given as a guide to her work: to supply the scriptures to every house - payment could be made by instalments if necessary; to read the scriptures in every house and to apply it to the needs of the household; and not to give temporal relief, but to report the need to the superintendent through a daily journal. The superintendent met all those needing work or relief in the school room in Bonaventura Street every Monday afternoon, and gave the sort of assistance that enabled the people to help themselves. In eight months Eliza Ransom paid 1,807 visits, and she found it so impossible to carry out the second instruction that a second Bible Woman (Mrs. Laughlin) was appointed and the district was subsequently divided between them. Mrs. Laughlin began on 8 January 1862, and the work was done more thoroughly. A mothers meeting^(A) was started in connection with the work and it averaged nineteen weekly attendances.⁽²⁾ A mission church with a residence for the Bible Women was opened on 9 June 1868, and it became a centre for Sunday services and schools, and an infant day school.⁽³⁾ A large number of those who benefited from their work were arriving immigrants.⁽⁴⁾ In 1869 Mrs. Laughlin was still with the mission.⁽⁵⁾ The 1870 Report stated that it was hoped that this maturing congregation would become a self-supporting church, and that a more strictly missionary work could then be entered into elsewhere.⁽⁶⁾

The comprehensive plans formulated for the Sabrevois Mission to French-speaking Roman Catholics in 1858 were not completed through lack of funds.⁽⁷⁾ But on 5 June 1860 Dr. Hellmuth and the Committee unanimously resolved to place four men under the Rev. Mr. Lewis of Sabrevois to train for the ministry, and take a degree at the University of M'Gill, Montreal. Thus a French Missionary College was founded and opened in the October of that year. A French Classical teacher (Mr. Mauny) was engaged, the Rev. N.V. Fenn^(B) was appointed Principal, and seven men came into residence.⁽⁸⁾ The 1860 Report remarked on a general spirit of enquiry among French Canadians throughout the Canadas.⁽⁹⁾ But there were difficulties which

needed patient handling, for the mission was fighting deep-rooted prejudices, and in this battle education was the great tool!⁽¹⁾ A new era opened for the mission because two men^(A) had gone to enter independent missionary work among the French Canadians, a girls' school was re-opened by Mrs. Lewis, two colporteurs were engaged and a body of French-speaking Indians^(B) were received into connection with the 'English' Church and were supplied with a missionary.⁽²⁾ The year 1866 saw two French-Canadian missionaries ordained priest (the Revs. A and O. Fortin),⁽³⁾ and two years later Mr. E. Roy was the fourth to be ordained.⁽⁴⁾ In 1869 the mission was the object of open attack from the Roman Catholics in the press and in lecture rooms, but 'interest' continued: in that year, for example, twenty-six were confirmed and there were an additional fifteen candidates for the spring confirmation, making forty-one in one year. Also a service with sermon was begun in Montreal at the request of the Bishop for French-speaking Protestants.⁽⁵⁾ Mr. J.J. Roy (lately a student of Sabrevois) went to continue studies at the University in Paris and became lay-reader to the Rev. E. Forbes, the Society's chaplain at the British Embassy Church.⁽⁶⁾

The Diocese of Toronto was divided during this period: and Huron was created in 1857, with Dr. Cronyn as first Bishop; and Ontario in 1862, with the Rev. J.I. Lewis as Bishop. The Society's Mission to Fugitive Slaves^(C) came within the jurisdiction of the new Diocese of Huron, and this therefore became the Society's chief field of interest in the new Diocese. American slavery had by now been abolished, but the mission which arose from the slave law was still needed⁽⁷⁾ because whatever changes were in store, the number and condition of those residing on British soil had not been materially affected.⁽⁸⁾ The free coloured population was scattered all over the western parts: in the towns of London, Chatham, Windsor, Dresden and Amherstburg; and in the smaller towns in numbers ranging from 100-1,400, and they generally formed twenty percent of the population. The Society desired to place a lay-reader under the direction of a resident clergyman in each of the large centres, to hold services in towns and surrounding districts and to take Sunday schools in the absence of the clergyman.^{(9)(D)} The training and employment of coloured agents was an accepted principle, and the Committee realized that no lasting results could be obtained without doing so.⁽¹⁰⁾ Two students were placed at Huron College, and, during the long vacation, at the request of the Committee, they visited the towns of the western part of the province.⁽¹¹⁾

The Huron Diocese comprised native Indians, fugitive slaves,

and German as well as British settlers,⁽¹⁾ and was then the most recently settled diocese.⁽²⁾

In Canada (as well as South Africa) the Society established missions among the German immigrants. A new effort was begun by the Rev. W.B. Rally at Mitchell, Canada West, who held a Sunday service in a commercial hotel for about thirty families - but there were many more in the surrounding countryside. About twelve children attended the 'English' Sunday schools.⁽³⁾

But perhaps the most significant advance was the foundation of the Huron Theological College, London. Dr. Hellmuth was appointed Archdeacon in 1860⁽⁴⁾ and a year later resigned as General Superintendent.⁽⁵⁾ Hellmuth, as the Bishop's Commissary, came to England in 1861 to raise funds for the founding of a diocesan Theological College. Hitherto candidates had gone to the College in the Diocese of Ohio (on the other side of Lake Erie).⁽⁶⁾ Through his connections with the Society Hellmuth raised £5,000,⁽⁷⁾ and the College opened on 21 December 1863 in London, under Hellmuth's Principalship.⁽⁸⁾ A Minute of the Society's Committee recorded Hellmuth's report that the Constitution of the College was so framed as to ensure the Protestant and Evangelical character of its teaching, and his request for two or three scholarships.⁽⁹⁾ In 1864 the Bishop and his Archdeacon came to England for deputation,⁽¹⁰⁾ and two years later Hellmuth relinquished the Principalship on his appointment to the Deanery of Huron and Rectory of London. The Rev. W. Wickes succeeded him.⁽¹¹⁾ Some of the students were appointed town missionaries in London in connection with the Society.⁽¹²⁾ This was the first attempt to establish an Evangelical Theological College in Canada.⁽¹³⁾ The Bishop of Rupertsland wrote at this time that the CCCS was the only Society actively at work in the ten dioceses of British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific.⁽¹⁴⁾

There is nothing to report in the Ontario or Rupertsland areas, but in Columbia the expectations of an immense influx of settlers at the gold 'diggings' failed and, on the recommendation of the missionary, he was withdrawn and the grant transferred. But the Society expressed its willingness to renew it in the future as the need arose.⁽¹⁵⁾

III.2.2. The West Indies

The Society worked almost exclusively among those of African stock, although there is a reference to the East Indian coolies (from the Madras Presidency) in Demarara and Trinidad, working - usually only for five years - in the sugar-cane industry. In 1859 about 5,000 of them

returned to India without any knowledge of the Gospel. A Mission to them, it was suggested, could help the eventual evangelization of their race in India.⁽¹⁾ The West Indies saw something of a revival of religion at this time and the coolies wanted the Bible in their own language.⁽²⁾ In 1862 the Bahama Church Society in connection with the CCCS was united with the Harbour Island Corresponding Committee.⁽³⁾ The problem that had to be faced was how to educate a nation recently emerged from slavery. The religious 'movement' exposed the value of scriptural education, and the Society maintained its support for the Woodcock Schools. A special Jamaica Fund was opened in 1863.⁽⁴⁾ Archdeacon Rowe asked the Society's help to establish a Teachers' Training school because of the need of competent teachers, but this was declined through lack of funds.⁽⁵⁾ In 1867 the working of the Education Bill in Jamaica tended to withdraw state aid to clergy for church schools and this made the Society's work all the more important.^{(6)(A)} So we see a rise in the grants to these schools in the following years.⁽⁷⁾ On 31 December 1869 the Church of England in Jamaica was disestablished and disendowed, and for the future it was dependent upon voluntary aid.⁽⁸⁾ In the next decade the Society's support for general work in this area grew.

III.2.3. The East Indies

In the Diocese of Madras the Society provided additional clergy for English residents and Eurasians in places where the numbers did not justify the appointment of a Government chaplain.⁽⁹⁾ The Madras 'Observer' stated (13 May 1864) that the CCCS was 'the only Pastoral-Aid Society in the Diocese. It supplies the Mount Road congregation, the planters of the Wynaad, the inhabitants of Cochin, Nellore, Kurnpool, Yercaud...and the Fort at Bangalore with clergymen.'⁽¹⁰⁾ The Committees of the CCCS and the Additional Clergy Society amalgamated in 1861.⁽¹¹⁾ There were six clergy on the lists at the time of the union: Madras, Bangalore and Pulicat (CCCS); Nellore, Shevaroy's and Cochin (ACS); and a CCCS lay-reader at Vepery. The united Committee took up Wynaad and Kurnpool and appointed a lay-reader at Blacktown.⁽¹²⁾ At Bangalore a service was held for the drummers and bandsmen of the native regiments, and at Pulicat unsystematic attempts were made to reach others in Tamil, Telegu and Hindustani through open-air preaching.⁽¹³⁾ In 1865 the Corresponding Committee requested a chaplain for the 2,500 European and Eurasian railway employees.⁽¹⁴⁾ Two years later the secretary wrote to the Society that prospects in the diocese were very unpromising - 'it is simply a question of time how long our Reserve Fund will hold out, and our tenure of stations in Madras come to an end...As ritualism and rationalism are doing their

deadly work here we have no chance of increased support from India.' The witness of Christ Church, Madras was becoming increasingly important as a centre of Evangelical effort, and the secretary trusted that the Home Committee would retain its hold on it should the others be abandoned.⁽¹⁾ The 1868 Report stated that many were flocking to Christ Church.⁽²⁾ Two years later the minutes of the Corresponding Committee stated that operations would probably have to be suspended because the European population was not anxious, as in previous years, for an Evangelical ministry - but they stressed the importance of retaining Christ Church, Madras as the 'only one which can be preserved from the introduction of prevailing errors in doctrine by the careful exercise of the patronage of the Parent Committee.'⁽³⁾

III.2.4. South Africa

Trinity Church, Capetown (the Rev. R.G. Lamb) and St. Peter's Church, Mowbray (Rev. W. Long) were referred to frequently in the Reports. Special note was taken of the schools work and young people's work generally. There seems to have been a 'revival' among the Dutch which these churches shared.⁽⁴⁾ But the question of ecclesiastical order (in which the Home Committee took no part) became an issue at this time. The real problem appeared to be that of the difference of view taken by Evangelicals and Tractarians, but it came to the surface on an issue of episcopal discipline without reference to the protective laws which were in force in England.^(A) Ultimately the question concerned the legal status and condition of the English Episcopal Church in the Colony.⁽⁵⁾ The issue focussed in the courts^(B) on the case of the Rev. W. Long versus the Bishop of Capetown (R. Gray). Long was suspended and later deprived for not giving notice of election of a delegate to the Diocesan Synod. Two out of three judges of the Supreme Court decided for the Bishop, but the Privy Council in England, on appeal, reversed the decision with costs. The Privy Council's judgement^(C) declared that the Bishop's 'Letters Patent' did not give him the jurisdiction that he claimed, that Long's suspension and deprivation were not justified, and that he remained the lawful incumbent of St. Peter's, Mowbray.⁽⁶⁾ The Report for 1863 stated that, since his re-instatement, Long was working happily, and that there were large congregations.⁽⁷⁾

In the neighbouring Diocese of Grahamstown four missionaries were particularly referred to in the Reports: The Revs. S. Brook (St. Paul's Church, Port Elizabeth), H. Kitton (King William's Town), W.A. Lees (East London) and R. von Hube for the German community (Panmure and Cambridge). Brook worked among 1,500 mechanics, traders, storemen, clerks, brickmakers and labourers. King William's Town was a garrison town and Kitton (now

Archdeacon of Kaffraria) worked among the Germans and English. There were fourteen German settlements in the Colony along the frontier from Panmure of the coast to Greytown at the foot of the mountains. They were built as a line of defence between the English and the Kaffirs. Von Hube was chaplain to two communities, and a German missionary to the Kaffirs cared for one other - the rest had no-one.⁽¹⁾ Later (in 1870) Kitton went to the diamond fields to organize a Church of England community. The services, which were the first in the diamond fields, were held in the music hall, and all nationalities, races and creeds attended them.⁽²⁾

III.2.5. Australia

A missionary was still working in the Swan River District (Perth Diocese) among a population of some 300 labourers, small farmers and resident gentlemen, and holding services in the Middle and Upper Swan. Another worked the district of Gingin (six miles north from Perth) and the Moore River area (thirty miles from Gingin). He visited stations north of that (for example, Yatheroo - twenty miles beyond Moore) in the Victoria Plains.⁽³⁾ These two men^(A) were keeping the Word of God alive among our own countrymen, and opening up the way for more direct missions to the Aborigines.⁽⁴⁾

The Society's connection with the Diocese of Melbourne was renewed by a grant to support a catechist.⁽⁵⁾ Yandilla was closed on the death of a Mr. R. Gore, whose generosity largely sustained it, and Mr. R. Munden was transferred to Tarawinaba on the Darling Downs in the Diocese of Newcastle. He became an itinerant catechist supported by squatters among whose shepherds he worked.⁽⁶⁾ The spread of Tractarian teaching here is also referred to in 1861.⁽⁷⁾

The work of the Rev. T. Smith^(B) (St. Barnabas', Sydney) illustrates the growth, even if unspectacular, of a 'working man's church'.^(C) A grant was made to Mr. J.M. Vaughan (St. Paul, Redfern).⁽⁸⁾ But in 1861 the Sydney Diocese was sub-divided, and the southern portion extending from the sea to longitude 141° (5-600 miles) was created a separate missionary Diocese of Goulburn.^{(9)(D)} The Rev. Mesac Thomas (Secretary of the CCOS) was appointed first Bishop on the recommendation of Archbishop Sumner of Canterbury.⁽¹⁰⁾ At the time of its creation it had seventeen clergy, thirteen of whom were working in the eastern section. The western areas were to be treated as missionary districts, and Thomas wanted twelve additional men, and needed to raise a budget of

£5,500.⁽¹⁾ Thomas arrived in his diocese on 14 March 1863,⁽²⁾ and began an immediate inspection. He held services for the nomadic sheep-shearers, and distributed tracts and Bibles among them. The Government plan was for 'secular' education: that is, no religious instruction was to be given by teachers in the schools, so that voluntary support for clergy and catechists was all the more pressing.⁽³⁾ In the following year drought interfered with the growth^(A) of the institutions planned for.⁽⁴⁾ The parishes were vast by any standards: the Rev. W.H. Pownall's,^(B) for instance, was 8,000 square miles, and included the six townships of Young, (the principal town on the Burrangong gold field), Burrowa, Murrumbirah, Wombat, Currawang and Marengo. On the first and third Sundays of the month he held service at Young, and then travelled twenty-four miles for a service at Wombat; on the second and fourth Sundays, he held morning service at Burrowa, then rode eighteen miles in two hours for an afternoon service at Marengo, and then on for sixteen miles to Young for an evening service. He visited the other centres on weekdays. He travelled 5,000 miles annually, and his nearest clerical neighbour was sixty-five miles away.⁽⁵⁾ The Synod called upon the Society to increase the number of clergy because one third of the diocese was still destitute. It requested grants for itinerant missionaries to evangelize the interior, organize the districts and form parishes. But the Society's financial position prevented it from giving all the required help.⁽⁶⁾ A Corresponding Committee, with the Bishop as President, was organized in 1870.⁽⁷⁾

In 1869 the Society was requested to send two clergy (without financial commitment) to the Diocese of Waiapu (New Zealand) for mission districts created through re-arrangement of the diocesan boundaries.⁽⁸⁾

III.2.6. Seamens Missions

Seamens Missions continued in Calcutta, Shanghai and Mauritius, and a new mission was opened in Freetown (Sierre Leone). Many of the seamen here were Africans⁽⁹⁾ and the chaplain appointed a native agent in 1861, and a clergyman for full-time work two years later.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Reports for these years suggest the reasons for establishing these missions as specialist work: 'Floating Churches' were bought because sailors would come to these in trousers and shirts, without shoes and socks, but would not come to a church on shore because they felt they must come decently dressed;⁽¹¹⁾ libraries and reading rooms were opened as places of innocent amusement and recreation to counteract the influence of the bazaars and other shore 'temptations'.⁽¹²⁾ Seamen in port were constantly beset by the pull of drink and lewd company, and the missions sought to establish

'Sailors Homes' ashore, which would give them some home comforts and medical attention when needed.⁽¹⁾ The Rev. H.J. Knapp was ordained by the Bishop of Gibraltar (G. Tomlinson) as seamens chaplain to Constantinople under the superintendence of the Rev. C.B. Gribble (British Embassy chaplain). 1,000 ships annually visited this port. Turkey allowed religious liberty, and the missionary was visited openly by the mollahs (doctors) and Imams (Priests) whose faith had been shaken in Mohammed - converts were safe from persecution. Knapp worked in the sailors home, among the naval engineers in the Sultan's service at Harkeni and on the ships moored in the 'Golden Horn'.⁽²⁾

III.2.7. Foreign Operations

The SPG Journal of 18 July 1862 carried the resolution of that Society to extend its operations to English congregations on the Continent,^{(3)(A)} and in the November of that year, on the recommendation of its Standing Committee, it set up the Continental Chaplaincies Committee.^{(4)(B)} This was not the first time that an Evangelical organization drove the SPG to revive its interest in our own countrymen abroad! (see p.30) On 11 November 1863, the Rev. R. Burgess drew the attention of the CCCS Continental Committee to the formation of the SPG Continental Committee and to the necessity of the Committee being prepared for rivalry which this seemed to occasion. He felt that the CCCS Continental work needed revision, and he undertook to write a paper for a future Committee meeting.⁽⁵⁾ The paper was presented on 12 January 1864 in which he wrote,

'In consequence of the formation of a Committee by the SPG proposing to subsidize chaplains selected by that Society in places where the English resort during the summer months... the evident intention of the Standing Committee [of the SPG] being to counteract the influence already acquired by this Society, it becomes important to take energetic measures for making known as extensively as possible what the C & CCS [sic] has done for British residents and travellers on the Continent in supplying chaplains temporary or permanent.' ^{(6)(C)}

The CCCS arranged Continental deputations to inspect and report on the workings of the chaplaincies with a view to improvements. Dr. J.C. Miller was appointed for six Sundays from 24 July 1864 to tour Zermatt, Thun, Interlaken, Chamonix, Lucerne and Zurich, and his report was considered on 2 December following.^{(7)(D)} The formation of the SPG Committee certainly broke the CCCS monopoly and drove the Society to look again at its own Continental ministry. The following years were those during which the chaplaincies were sorted out between the two Societies. The Bishop of London (Tait) wrote to the Society (12 July 1864) requesting

the Committee to communicate with him when negotiations had been entered upon with a view to establishing a new chaplaincy 'to avoid all chance of collision with the arrangements of the Continental Chaplaincies Committee of the SPG', and the Committee gladly complied.⁽¹⁾ A form of letter was drawn up from one Society to the other asking whether any objections were offered to placing a chaplaincy on their list, and this worked well.^(A) This was also the beginning of a period of church building, though this was a secondary object and no portion of the regular income of the Society was used for this purpose. The rule was to make grants for living agents only. Money had to be raised for building through special funds,⁽²⁾ in Zermatt, for example, where a tragic accident^(B) focussed public attention on the importance of summer chaplaincies, resulting in the erection of St. Peter's Memorial Church.⁽³⁾

Two striking features of the Spanish work during these years were the struggle for religious freedom for English congregations and the beginnings of a work among Spanish Protestants. In 1861 the English service was banned at Seville and Jerez by the Civil Government at the instigation of the Jesuits.⁽⁴⁾ There were legal restrictions on Protestant worship, and services (behind closed shutters without singing) could be held only in Consulates without fear of interruption. Later in the decade a revolution swept away these restrictions and chaplains were then able to secure houses which acted as temporary churches.⁽⁵⁾ In 1862 the English services were interrupted by Roman Catholics and the chaplain (The Rev. S.B. Burtschall) wrote home that 'if the Consul whose sympathies were all Spanish had protested and taken his stand as a British Consul, the inhibition of the Civil Governor at the prompting of the priests never would have been issued.' The middle and upper class Spaniard favoured liberty of conscience. There was an English congregation of sixty and as many as 1,000 British sailors in port from time to time. The Committee resolved to obtain an interview with Earl Russell^(C) on the general question of English chaplaincies with special reference to Spain and Seville.⁽⁶⁾ The deputation was received on 17 June and was introduced by the Hon. A. Kinnaird, MP. Lord Henry Cholmondeley read the Memorial,^(D) and gave it to Earl Russell together with a copy of the Society's Report containing a similar Memorial to Lord Clarendon in 1857 and his reply (see p. 62 and Note H). The Rev. S.B. Burtschall and J.D. Hope Esq., who were present in Seville at the time, gave evidence. The Deputation requested a renewal of the circular on the Society's behalf to His Ministers in European Courts, and protection for the English congregations in Seville and Jerez. The restrictions, it was claimed, were out of keeping with other areas where the Roman Catholic powers conceded the

privilege and readily aided the Society. Earl Russell replied that he could hardly imagine how the Spanish Government could justify the proceedings referred to by the Memorial.⁽¹⁾ A letter was received in the following April from Burtschall in Seville saying that permission had been granted to resume services in the Vice-Consul's house.⁽²⁾

Later in this decade the Rev. L.S. Tugwell became chaplain at Seville, and 'those interested in the evangelization of Spain found [in him] a warm friend and sympathizer.' Formerly the chaplain had to remain aloof from the Spanish seeking spiritual help - the absolute exclusion of every Spaniard was the condition of the English service being continued at all. By 1868 in Seville there was evidence of real Evangelical religion and the English chaplain had fellowship with the Spanish Protestants.⁽³⁾ At Huelva (in connection with Seville) Tugwell opened a temporary church and school. There was an Anglo-Spanish Sunday School (with three English and two Spanish classes) and Day school (with three classes each for English and Spanish children), and the Day school mistress was a Spaniard who had been educated in Edinburgh.⁽⁴⁾ A year later some Anglo-French and Italians had joined the classes. Evening classes were to be started for mothers and servant-girls; a female training college was set up for twenty-five students; a training college for youths for christian work; and evening classes were started for young men from the University and public schools of Seville. 400 children and young people were under daily instruction, eleven Spanish services were held weekly, and there were fifteen paid and three honorary workers. The British and Foreign Bible Society paid for two colporteurs.⁽⁵⁾ By 1870 these schools had spread to two other localities, and there were three sets of schools with 600 (including adults) attending. Gospel services in Spanish were started, for instance, a Spanish evangelist preached in the school house in San Bernardo.⁽⁶⁾

An Anglican liturgical service in French was started in the Society's Church in the Rue d'Aguesseau, Paris through the generosity of the Gourrier Trustees,^(A) and was to be held every Sunday afternoon.⁽⁷⁾ Another example of this encouragement and co-operation with Continental Protestants was at Vichy where the building of a joint church was started in 1864.⁽⁸⁾ The church was opened in 1867⁽⁹⁾ under the Society's management.⁽¹⁰⁾ At Hyères (near Toulon) the English chaplain was pastor to all Protestants, and he established a French agent with a grant from the Société Centrale d'Évangélisation à Paris.⁽¹¹⁾ The Society also made a grant to the chaplain in Amsterdam (Holland) to hold a service for students from the Cape Colony (South Africa) who were studying in the

University of Utrecht for the ministry of the Netherlands Reformed Church in South Africa. There had been twenty to thirty resident there during the previous nine years. The Report for 1860 stated that there were large numbers of regular worshippers at the episcopal service, including a few Scots probationers learning Dutch before going to South Africa.⁽¹⁾ Though the students had gone by 1870, there were still sixty attending.⁽²⁾

The chaplain of Trinity Church, Boulogne took an active part in establishing and working the British Sailors Institute there, This was a joint Anglican-Methodist venture - the plan of the Methodist minister (the Rev. J. Gaskin), and when the episcopal chaplain (the Rev. C.H.H. Wright) arrived he willingly joined in the scheme and the Institute opened on 30 July 1868. Joint services and meetings were held.⁽³⁾

The Franco-Prussian war broke out in 1870, and made it impossible to carry out the arrangements for summer chaplaincies.⁽⁴⁾ The permanent chaplains in France, Belgium and Germany administered the money and clothing sent for the relief of prisoners, and distributed tracts (for example, the chaplain at Boulogne to the German prisoners at Calais, Dunkirk, Abbeville and Amiens) among them.⁽⁵⁾

This decade saw the beginnings of a decline in interest at home in Colonial missions until the end of the century, but it also marked a corresponding growth in interest which enabled the Continental work to be developed.

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- A. The Society 'ascribes its growth as well to the acknowledged benefit of its operations, as to the Reformation principles upon which it was founded...The strength of the Society is its Evangelical character... The Society is increasingly receiving the same kind of sympathy, as accorded to the CMS, which it closely resembles in its most essential features, or to the CP-AS.' (1858 Report, CCSS, pp.12f) Reference was made to 'A distinct declaration of the total corruption of our nature, justification by grace through faith alone, and the necessity of a vital change of heart in all.' (1851 Report, CCSS, p.71) Regarding the importance of selecting the right agents, the Committee wrote, 'In proportion to their [the Committee's] fidelity in selecting such men [of Evangelical persuasion] and such only, may they expect the manifest blessing of God upon their exertions.' (1852 Report, CCSS, p.12)
- B. 1851: 18 clergy; 63 schoolmasters and catechists; 20 women teachers. (1851 Report, CCSS, p.28) For 1861 figures see p.64, note B.
- C. Afterwards Bishop of Goulburn, Australia. (1862 Report, CCSS, p.36)

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- A. Hellmuth was born a Jew in Warsaw in 1817 and was educated at Breslau University. He became a member of the Church of England in 1841. Six years later he went to Lower Canada where he was ordained by the third Bishop of Quebec. He was later Vice-Principal and Professor of Rabbinical Literature at Bishops College, Lennoxville. In 1854 he returned to England as Eastern District Organizing Secretary of the CCSS, but returned to Canada two years later as General Superintendent (except for the Diocese of Montreal where WB Bond was Superintendent). In 1862 he became Archdeacon of Huron, five years later he became Dean and Rector of St Paul's. In 1871 he was elected successively Bishop of 'Norfolk' and Huron. He resigned in 1883 and became an co-adjutor Bishop of Ripon, England. Two years later he was appointed Rector of Bridlington and was English chaplain at Pau (France) for two seasons. He died in 1901, aged 81. (GBM, CCSS, 105, December 1916, pp.156f)
- B. 'Meeting' is the process of cleaning, salting and drying fish.
- C. Secular work was subordinate to religious work; the religious element was the essential basis of the programme. (1852 Report, CCSS, p.46)
- D. The sons of two of the Society's masters and two pupil-teachers selected by the Board for their schools marked the beginning. (1859 Report, CCSS, p.78)

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- A. 30 candidates. (1855 Report, CCSS, p.68)
- B. A motion at the Home Committee: 'It appears desirable to direct the main attention of the Corresponding Committees in the Colonies to the formation of Training Establishments with a view to train up an Evangelical native agency for educational purposes.' (Min.4,869, CCSS, 5 October 1852)
- C. This appointment as General Superintendent excluded the Diocese of Montreal, which was already under the Rev.WB Bond. (1856 Report, CCSS, p.26)

- D. The 1852 Report referred to 'energetic, unscrupulous and unceasing' efforts on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to 'secure the position of a publicly recognized church, sharing equally with Protestants the aid of legislative assemblies.' (1852 Report, CCSS, p.110) The missionary vigour of the Roman Catholic Church in the Colonies and the growing emancipation of Roman Catholics at home by this time, alarmed many in the Established Church. It was seen to be a threat also to sound education, because their schools, in most cases, were 'in a wretched state both as to acquirements and discipline: and that in many of them, persons are placed as teachers who cannot even read, but who spend their time in teaching the children the Romish catechism by rote.' (1851 Report, CCSS, p.15)
- E. A Normal School was a training school; a Model School was a training practice school: often they were combined.
- F. All branches of secular English education (elements of geography and English grammar for the younger, and in addition mechanics, composition, geometry, etc. for the older children) as well as religious instruction (Bible lessons and prayers twice daily) were taught. (1854 Report, CCSS, p.31)
- G. Not simply repetitive learning, but to set their minds on a search for other truths.

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- A. The prospectus issued by M'Gill College stated that their Normal School was established to train Protestant teachers for Lower Canada. It was under the control of the Superintendent of Education who had associated with him the Governing body of M'Gill University. (1856 Report, CCSS, p.28)
- B. The basis of union between the two Normal Schools was:
 1. Teachers in the CCSS Normal School were to receive the teaching and diplomas of the M'Gill Normal School.
 2. Mr Hicks (CCSS) was appointed Professor in M'Gill Normal School.
 3. The Principal of M'Gill University and the Professor of the Normal School were to prepare bye-laws for approval of the CCSS where they affect the Model School.
 4. The CCSS Model School was to remain under existing management, and was to become a Branch Model School of the M'Gill Model School.
 5. Mr Hicks would continue to supervise the school.
 (1856 Report, CCSS, p.30)
- C. Min.4,518, CCSS, 29 July 1851 recommended a missionary for sailors, immigrants and Roman Catholics.
- D. The General Superintendent's instructions were: to be ex-officio member of all Corresponding Committees; to report circumstances where the intervention of the Committee is needed; to report on the competence, efficiency, fidelity and character of its agents; to send a quarterly report for deputation purposes; to seek the patronage of ecclesiastical and civil authorities consistent with Evangelical principles; and strengthen the work locally. (Min. General Committee, CCSS, 31 March 1857)

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- A. A motion moved at the General Meeting on 7 May 1857 by the Bishop of Rupertsland: 'that this meeting keeping in view the main object of the Society, as an Institution for Evangelical Church Missions in the British Colonies, hails its errand of mercy in likewise endeavouring to carry the Gospel to the Negro race in Canada and the West Indies, to the French inhabitants and natives of Canada and Rupertsland, and to British sailors in foreign ports.' (1856 Report, CCSS, p.iii)
- B. The origin of the work, it seems, can be traced to two British officers who, when visiting Canada, received kindness from a French Canadian family (Roy) near La Prairie. In return the officers gave the family a copy of the New Testament which remained unread for a generation. It fell into the hands of a son - Charles Roy - who moved to Sabrevois, and who read it from time to time. The family was converted and renounced Roman Catholicism, and a Protestant congregation began to grow. By 1870 four members of the family were in missionary work. (1870 Report, CCSS, p.14; 1891 Report, CCSS, p.49)
- C. Mrs Christie offered to build a church and parsonage and support a clergyman at the outset, and she bore this expense for five years. (1852 Report, CCSS, p.19)
- D. The Society failed to find Evangelists in England, France, Belgium or Switzerland for the French Committee in Canada, and this compelled them to attend to the question of training their own workers. (1858 Report, CCSS, p.35)

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- A. Other provisions of its constitution were: that management was to be placed under a district committee of the Parent Society, episcopal patronage was to be invited, the General Superintendent was to be ex-officio President of the Committee (representative of the province both clergy and laity) which would choose a central management committee for direction and control of the mission. (1858 Report, CCSS, p.38)
- B. An American paper quoted a Detroit ferry master as having reported at least 900 fugitive slaves crossed at that point into Canada during one year. (1853 Report, CCSS, p.39)
- C. She seems to have been influenced by a talk given by the Rev. MM Dillon, formerly Rector of Dominica, West Indies. (Occasional Paper, Fugitive Slave Mission, 2, December 1854, pp.3f) Mary Jane Kinnaid (1816-88) was the daughter of WH Hoare banker, and niece of the Rev. the Hon Baptist Noel. She married the Hon Arthur Kinnaid in 1843. (Dict. Nat.Biog, vol.11, p.189)

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- A. The Colonization Society of the USA aimed at the total removal of freed slaves from the British provinces to Africa. (1854 Report, CCSS, p.44)
- B. This mission was not confined to the coloured population, but reached out to all in the wilds and backwoods. (1854 Report, CCSS, p.46)
- C. Dr Cronyn was subsequently elected first Bishop of Huron. (1856 Report, CCSS, p.50)

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- A. Peter Jacobs was a native of Hudson's Bay Territory, and was trained for the ministry under Bishop Anderson of Rupertsland at the Red River. (1858 Report, CCSS, p.55; 1856 Report, CCSS, p.47) The Diocese of Rupertsland was created in 1849 and David Anderson became the first Bishop. He was born in 1814 and was a classmate of AC Tait (later Archbishop of Canterbury) at Edinburgh Academy. He was ordained in 1837 and in 1841 became Vice-Principal of St Bees' College, Cumberland until 1848. (TCB Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, 1962, pp.61f, 63f)
- B. The Hudson's Bay Company sent out the Rev. John West in 1820 (a CMS missionary) as chaplain. Others followed, and in 1849 David Anderson became the first Bishop of Rupertsland. (General Notes on Canada, CCCS, 1922, pp.151f)

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- A. These half-breeds looked and spoke Indian (Cree and Salteaux). (1853 Report, CCSS, p.70) Pure Indian work would come within the sphere of the CMS, but the semi-European and professedly christian population had a 'colonial' character which was the sphere of the CCSS. (1855 Report, CCSS, p.83)
- B. Letter 5 July 1858. (1858 Report, CCSS, p.15)
- C. 7 October 1858. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 7 October 1858)
- D. Langley was chosen as the capital of British Columbia, but actually, on strategic grounds, Queensborough (New Westminster) eventually became the capital. (1859 Report, CCSS, p.94)

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- A. Minister of Mount Road Chapel. (see p.38)
- B. 16, 20, 26, 36. (1850 Report, CCS, p.46)
- C. Tamil work was supported by the congregation of Christ Church, Madras. This was a sign of the 'essential unity of CMS and CCSS in promoting work.' (1852 Report, CCSS, p.71)
- D. 22 December 1852. (1852 Report, CCSS, p.70)
- E. Henry Venn (1796-1873) was the son of John Venn, Rector of Clapham. He was priested in 1820 and in 1834 became Vicar of St John's, Upper Holloway until 1846 when he became Secretary of the CMS, a position he held until 1873. He was a recognized leader of the Evangelical body of the Church of England - he was called upon to serve on the clerical subscription and ritual Commissions. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.20, p.208)
- F. The British Government had given them grants of land for settlement on the borders. (1857 Report, CCSS, p.141)
- G. The Germans were British allies during the Crimean war. (1856 Report, CCSS, p.92)

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- A. Letter dated 15 October 1857. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 15 July 1858)
- B. The Bishop expressed 'his wish to have only Evangelical clergymen introduced into the diocese.' (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 17 December 1857)
- C. Letter dated 11 December 1857. (1857 Report, CCSS, p.142) He sought the kind of man who "loves order" in the Church, but loves the Gospel and the souls of men more than mere ritualism.' (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 17 December 1857)

- D. Free settlement began in the early part of the nineteenth century (e.g. the Swan Settlement) and this was preceded by penal settlements. New South Wales was the first 'colony'; expansion began with the discovery in 1813 of a pass over the Blue Mountains to the Bathurst Plains. Merino sheep were imported and reared for their wool. Western Australia was founded, as we have seen, in 1829. Settlers arrived in south-east Australia in 1834, and three years later Melbourne was chosen as a nucleus of a new colony. In 1851 rich surface gold deposits were discovered in Ballaarat and later in Bendigo. (Harlow, Origins and Purpose, p.27)
- E. The 1852 Report of the CCSS stated that 600 Roman Catholics out of a total population of 4,000 had 1 Archbishop, 2 Bishops, 4 priests, 26 Benedictines, and 12 sisters of mercy attached to the mission in Perth. (p.95)

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- A. Perks had a three-day horse-back journey through the mountains and over the plains for 80 miles into the interior to conduct open-air services in the 'diggings' on Sundays. Services would be held in three places with up to 1,000 people attending. (1851 Report, CCSS, p.6) The Ballaarat field was 3 miles long and 1 mile broad, and the whole area was covered by tents. Each digger took out a licence for a 10' x 6' plot of ground. Much of the gold was got off the surface and, when washed and sieved, was taken to the commissioner's tent, and from there escorted to Geelong and Melbourne. (1852 Report, CCSS, p.89)
- B. Sent out in December 1851 with a view to establishing a Model and Training school, and raising candidates on the field. (1851 Report, CCSS, p.61)
- C. The Bishop of Melbourne wrote (10 January 1859) about the qualifications of the clergy he sought: 'not great natural abilities, or literary attainments; not any extraordinary eloquence, or very refined manners, or a highly cultivated taste; but simply soundness of doctrine, lowliness of life, zeal for the glory of his God and Saviour, an earnest desire to win souls, combined with a competent knowledge of the scriptures, a moderate amount of general information, a command of the English language, sufficient power as a preacher to gather and hold together a congregation, ability to speak to his people individually as their spiritual pastor; diligence in his work, prudence, disinterestedness; willingness to endure hardness for the Lord's sake, meekness under provocation, perseverance under discouragements, and humility under success.' (1859 Report, CCSS, p.135) This quotation is given in full to illustrate the type of layman the Society sought for the Colonies as catechists and ordinands.

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- A. Letter dated 26 May 1852. (1852 Report, CCSS, p.79)

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- A. English settlement of the Continent had grown since the Peace of 1815. Chaplaincies (apart from the Consular chaplaincies) had sprung up unaided and by voluntary effort. A majority used hired rooms: only Leghorn and Geneva had consecrated buildings by 1856 (apart from Paris). During the 40 years following 1815 no direction was given (though theoretically the chaplains accepted the discipline and order of the Episcopal Church), and there was no restraint on the unworthy. In fact the clergy had no recognized position and were generally neglected. There were 4 types of chaplaincy: Embassy (4); Consular (15); Company (e.g. Russia Company); and the voluntary type administered in one of three ways - by a committee of residents which guaranteed a stipend, by a chaplain and one or more friends and a stipend was received after expenses were met, or by a clergyman as the sole tenant. (1856 Report, CCSS, pp.111-16)

- B. Chave was the last Secretary of the CCS. He was appointed agent of the CCSS in Paris in 1851, and was sent in the June of that year to supervise lay agents, preach and recommend action. (Min.4,467, CCSS, 3 June 1851)
- C. Official returns in 1855 showed 313,580 passengers had passed through the 7 channel ports. (quoted in the 1856 Report, CCSS, p.113)
- D. By 1857 the Society was involved in the following chaplaincies:
 Savoy - Aix-les-Bains, Chamonix.
 Switzerland - Basle, Bex, Grindelwald, Interlaken, Lucerne, Montreux, Thun, Zurich.
 France - Biarritz, Bigorre, Hyères, Luchon, Lyon, Paris, St Pierre (Calais), Strasbourg, Vichy.
 Bohemia - Carlsbad.
 Bavaria - Munich.
 Holland - The Hague, Utrecht.
 Poland - Warsaw.
 Austria - Linz.
 It was ready to appoint to Lille, Bremen, Stuttgart, Turin and Madrid. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 16 July 1857)
- E. The SPG did not enter the field until its monthly meeting on 17 December 1858 at which a fund for Continental chaplaincies was opened. (Colonial Church Chronicle, 1859, p.27)

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- A. Interlaken was a seasonal chaplaincy operating from June to September. (Min.4,405, CCSS, 18 March 1851)
- B. e.g. Chamonix was opened on 6 September 1860 by the Bishop of Winchester. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 16 August 1860); the General Minutes of 17 December 1857 reported efforts to purchase the Embassy chapel in the Rue D'Aguesseau, Paris, and on 7 April 1859 the Bishop of London offered £9,000 on behalf of the Society.
- C. Sir Culling Eardley (1805-63) succeeded to the title in 1829 and in 1830-1 became an MP. He founded the Evangelical Alliance in 1846. He spent several years on the Continent. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.6, pp.316ff)

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- A. He had personally revived the English chaplaincies at Hyères, and placed the nomination in the hands of the CCSS. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 18 November 1856)
- B. The Rev.R Burgess was Rector of Upper Chelsea and sometime English chaplain in Rome and Geneva. In 1851 he issued an enquiry among clergy of 30 congregations in France, Belgium and Switzerland under the Bishop of London's (Blomfield) sanction. In 1850 there were 31 clergy for 17,000 population; 5,000 regular attendances and 1,200 communicants. There was a floating mass of 50,000 travellers. The 1856 estimate of the number of chaplains was: France, Belgium and Switzerland (whole or part time) 31; Italy 10; Peninsula (Iberia) 3; Germany 20; Holland 4; Russia 7 - making a total of 75. (1856 Report, CCSS, pp.111-16)
- C. Many were debtors, drunkards, bankrupts or adventurers, and owed allegiance to no bishop and were responsible to no ecclesiastical authority. (GBM, CCSS, 355, July-August 1937, pp.68f; GBM, CCSS, 16, 1880, letter of the Secretary 1 September 1879 extracted from the 'Record' newspaper.)
- D. The Continental Committee Minutes began on the 20 November 1856.

- E. The deputation would convene the English; promise a chaplain and a grant to meet an amount raised locally; appoint local collectors and rent buildings suitable for worship on behalf of the Committee. (1856 Report, CCSS, p.114)
- F. The 'Heads' of enquiry specified: 1. Those in existence - A. Appointment: name of chaplain, date and source of appointment, whether licensed by London or Gibraltar, type (Consular, independent), and nature (permanent, seasonal) of chaplaincy. B. Income: average, if insufficient the aid required, source and mode of obtaining the income (collections, subscriptions from hoteliers or visitors, local or British Government grants, pew rents). C. Buildings: permanent or temporary, used exclusively for English worship or shared with foreign Protestants, annual or other charges. 2. Those still unsupplied. There was also a list of 129 places supplied by a chaplain. (Min.Continental Committee, CCSS, 20 November 1856)
- G. GWF Villiers (1800-70) succeeded to the title Clarendon in 1838. From 1833-9 he was Ambassador in Madrid; 1839-41 Lord Privy Seal; 1846-7 President of the Board of Trade; 1853-8 Foreign Secretary and 1865-6, 1868-70. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.20, pp.347-50)
- H. The Memorial to Lord Clarendon stated that there had been no systematic efforts to supply services according to the rites of the Church of England and Ireland except the work of the CCSS, which had sought for 16 years to aid isolated cases that came to its attention. The time had come to extend the movement. A Continental Committee had been set up to raise a fund to supply chaplains and organize a better system under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. This assistance would be readily accepted if it was not only sanctioned by the Bishop of London but supported by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 16 July 1857) Lord Clarendon's reply (dated 18 July) said that he (Clarendon) could offer no financial assistance but would direct HMs Ministers and chaplains licensed by London to make the arrangements known to the particular Government concerned, and to seek its good will. Ministers would offer chaplains their advice and support. Foreign Governments may approve of work among the British but would resent any interference or proselytizing and the British Government recognized the right of a Foreign Government to close a chapel or expel a chaplain for objectionable practices. (Min.Continental Committee, CCSS, 20 November 1857 and printed in 1860 Report, CCSS, pp.167ff)

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- A. Clarendon later appointed the Rev.CB Gribble (Committee member) to be Embassy chaplain in Constantinople. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 4 March 1858)
- B. The Instructions stressed the importance of gaining lay help for financial contributions, visiting the civil authorities and the Protestant pastor, a periodical Prayer Meeting and Bible Study, guarding the pulpit, establishing a religious lending library for Sunday reading and reporting to the Home Committee. (Min. Continental Committee, 27 February 1857)
- C. AC Tait indicated his willingness to join the Society in 1857. (Min. General Committee, CCSS, 6 January 1857)
- D. A letter was received from Brooks (dated 5 February 1858) giving particulars about a young Maltese in deacon's orders in the Roman Catholic Church - an enquirer after truth studying the Vulgate -

who met Brooks privately on the seashore or in country lanes. Brooks requested some 'good' books in Italian for him and a place in a Protestant theological college. (Min.General Committee, CCSS, 18 February 1858) He sailed for training in a Continental college a year later. (1859 Report, CCSS, p.139)

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- A. In the middle years of this decade the country faced economic difficulties aggravated by the expense of the Crimean War. This was bound to affect the funds of voluntary Societies. The Minute of the CCSS 4 December 1855 remarked that voluntary organizations were unable to carry on large operations without a Capital Fund. An income dependent upon donations and subscriptions would fail occasionally. The object of a Capital Fund was to provide a means of meeting current expenses in those periods when receipts were down. Money drawn from this fund would be replaced at the end of the financial year. (Min. General Committee, CCSS, 21 January 1856)
- B. The growth of the Society can be illustrated by the following figures: 1851 - missionaries 101, episcopal patrons 7, clerical supporters 380 and income £6,980; 1861 - respectively 254, 36, 2,420, and £27,487. (1861 Report, CCSS, p.34)
- C. Expenditure on Colonial work of SPG and CCSS compared:
1851 - SPG, £46,000; CCSS, £5,000.
1861 - SPG, £32,000; CCSS, £18,000. (1860 Report, CCSS, pp.30f)

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- A. The first hour was given to receiving subscriptions and cutting out work, and after a hymn and prayer there was Bible instruction. (1861 Report, CCCS, p.45)
- B. Fenn (a French-speaker) transferred from the Fugitive Slave Mission at Hamilton, Canada West. (1861 Report, CCCS, p.52)

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- A. One, Mr E Roy, opened a new station at Ramsay. (1862 Report, CCCS, p.46)
- B. The Abenaki Indians at Pierreville, at the mouth of the St Francis River wanted a missionary, church and school for 18 families. Mr Cornu was sent pro tem. (1863 Report, CCCS, p.52)
- C. Separate reports were issued for these years and these appear to be missing.
- D. The plan was to place two students at Huron College, London, who would act as catechists; to place one clergyman and one schoolmaster in Dresden; one clergyman in Windsor then to supplement these arrangements with a catechist in Windsor, Chatham, and Amherstburg, and employ two colporteurs for the remote districts in the summer months. £4-900 needed to be raised annually to finance this. (1865 Report, CCCS, p.4)

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- A. The Rev.JJ Ransom (St Mary's) reported that he was obliged to double school fees (without sufficient notice) to secure the Government grant, and had to close two schools in consequence. The previous year he had 100 pupils but then only 10. (1867 Report, CCCS, pp.97f)

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- A. In the absence of Ecclesiastical Commissioners sites of churches were conveyed to the bishops and there were instances, for example, of Bishops claiming the patronage on that ground alone, and refusing to consecrate until their claim was conceded - even in cases where the whole cost was borne by one donor. (1860 Report, CCSS, pp.114f)
- B. The constitutional question of the independence of the Dominion Churches had not been settled - just what was their legal status and power to rule themselves? After 1853 legal difficulties (which affected them all) were centred in South Africa because the Bishop of Capetown (R Gray) did not hesitate to test in the courts the right of the Church in South Africa to govern itself apart from the regulations issued by the State. (HL Clarke, Constitutional Church Government, 1924, pp.322f) As Lowther Clarke says, 'South Africa...became the storm centre of Church life abroad, because the rights of the Church were there so persistently and uncompromisingly asserted against the claims of the Crown to rule in Church doctrine and to regulate public worship.' (ibid, p.11) During the 30 years following 1850 the decisions of the South African and English courts helped to define the Church's constitutional rights. (ibid, p.323) From 1795 the scattered English congregations were looked upon as belonging to the Established Church of England and were given a status by Ordinances of the Governor and Council - and these remained on the Statute books. But in 1857 Gray introduced synodical government and called a Synod in that year and again in 1861. Walter Long refused to attend (or to elect a lay representative for the parish of Mowbray). Actually the parishes of Holy Trinity, Capetown and Wynberg also refused to acknowledge Provincial or Diocesan Synods. In 1861 Long publicly charged the Bishop, clergy and laity who attended in 1857 with having 'seceded from the English Church'. Legal proceedings followed which ended in the judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on 24 June 1863. This case compelled attention to the form and powers of Church tribunals which was the culminating point of synodical organization. (ibid, pp.320-5)
- C. The judgement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (24 June 1863) is to be found in C Gray, Life of R Gray, Bishop of Capetown, vol.II, Appendix. It lay down two principles: 1. 'That in a Colony which has been granted legislative institutions of its own, Letters Patent purporting to appoint Bishops and to give them coercive jurisdiction similar to that of Bishops in England are ultra vires.' 2. 'The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body - in no better but in no worse position, and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules enforcing discipline within their body which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them...such tribunal will be binding when it has acted within the scope of its authority...in such cases the tribunals so constituted are not in any sense courts, they derive no authority from the Crown; they have no power of their own to enforce their sentences.' The effect of the first was to invalidate Gray's second Letters Patent as Metropolitan in 1853 - since legislatures were established three years previously - and, the effect of the second was to condemn Gray for depriving Long of disobedience and contempt. The Bishop contended that Long was bound by the rules of Synod, but he had deprived him on his own authority without regard to those rules and without specifying charges! (Clarke, op cit, p.324)

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- A. The Revs A Likely and GJ Bostock. (1860 Report, CCSS, p.139)
- B. Smith worked among the bargees of Paddington before going to Sydney. (1862 Report, CCSS, p.120)
- C. When he was appointed in 1857, he had a Sunday School of 1 and no communicants; but by 1864 he had 700 pupils and 60 teachers in the Sunday School, 300 children and 7 teachers in the day school, a church seating 1,000 and 300 communicants. (1864 Report, CCSS, p.119)
- D. Goulburn was 120 miles south-west of Sydney. (1861 Report, CCSS, p.175)
The population was 60,000 in an area of 140,000 sq.mls. (1862 Report, CCSS, p.122)

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- A. The following figures illustrate the growth, in spite of setbacks, during Thomas's episcopate:

Before arrival clergy	10;	in 1866 clergy	29
churches	18;	churches	33
schools	11;	schools	36
parsonages	7;	parsonages	11
Church Society	0;	Church Society	vigorous
Diocesan Conference	nil;	Diocesan Conference	in action
Diocesan Depot	nil;	Diocesan Depot	successful

 (1866 Report, CCSS, p.125)
- B. Pownall served with the Society as chaplain to seamen in Shanghai. He returned to England with his three children after the death of his wife in 1862, and subsequently went to Goulburn. (1863 Report, CCSS, p.118)

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- A. 'Resolved with a view to improve the conditions of the chaplaincies on the continent to adopt the following resolutions: 1. That the Society in accordance with ancient practice extend its operations to English congregations on the continent. 2. That small grants...may be made towards the support of a continental chaplain in cases where there are large numbers of British sailors, labourers or other British subjects of poor condition. 3. That a register be kept in the Society's office of vacant chaplaincies and of clergymen willing to occupy them, either temporarily or permanently. 4. That measures be taken to communicate these resolutions to the authorities of the Universities - to British Consuls and Chaplains abroad - to Hotel keepers and influential persons in places frequented by British subjects.' (Journal of SPG, 18 July 1862, pp.272f) This issue seems to have been raised by a letter from a Rev.H White (12 February 1862) containing a circular of an Anglo-continental Society. A sub-committee which was set up to report on whether and what steps could be taken, reported on 17 June 1862. Then the Standing Committee of 26 June in that year passed the above resolutions. (Standing Committee, SPG, vol.28, pp.250,345,352f)
- B. The Continental Chaplaincies Committee - to include the Deans of Canterbury and Westminster - was set up to: 1. Carry out the Resolutions of the Society on Continental Chaplaincies. 2. Raise and administer a Special Fund in aid of chaplaincies not entitled to assistance under no.2 of 18 July 1862. 3. Watch over the interests of the Church of England on the Continent and to encourage

the diffusion of information regarding its principles and generally to advise the Society on the subject. 4. Report their proceedings from time to time to the Society.' (Journal of SPG, 21 November 1862, pp.295f) This Committee appears to have met between 1862-4. (Pascoe (CF Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, 1901, p.738)

- C. The CCCS had drawn up lists, had advertised them, secured the services of the best chaplains and appointed summer deputations to tour the chaplaincies on the Society's behalf and inspect the work. (Minute, Continental Committee, CCCS, - Memo Rev.R Burgess - 12 January 1864)
- D. He recommended that summer chaplains be resident at the station and arrive no later than the Friday prior to their first Sunday duty. This was agreed by the Committee and the instructions issued. He recommended a weekly Holy Communion, but the first and third Sundays only were directed. He suggested that notice boards be placed outside the churches explaining that services were maintained by the Society and requesting contributions, and that a handbill should be available to that effect for the chaplains' use. Collections were to be taken at both services, and the money used to defray expenses. A list of visitors was to be forwarded to the Secretary in London to whom an appeal was to be made during the winter months. A sermon on behalf of the Society was to be preached annually in the chaplaincies on the last Sunday in August. (Min.Continental Committee, CCCS, 2 December 1864)

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- A. e.g. on 12 March 1867 Diablerets was placed on the CCCS list whilst Engelberg became an SPG chaplaincy. (Minute Continental Committee, CCCS, 12 March 1867)
- B. Four members of Edward Whymper's party which had made the first successful attempt on the Matterhorn above Zermatt fell 4,000' to their death onto the Matterhorn glacier: they were Lord Francis Douglas (brother of the Marquis of Queensbury), the Rev.Charles Hudson (Vicar of Skillington, Lincs), D Hadow (on his first alpine season and whose slip caused the fatal accident) and Michel Croz (a guide). (E Whymper, Scrambles amongst the Alps, 6th edn, 1936, p.322) A site for a Memorial Church was purchased with the co-operation of Ms Clements and Seiler of the Hotels Mont Cervin and Monte Rosa in Zermatt. The Committee included the Marquis of Queensbury and H Hadow, Esq. The stone was laid on 29 June 1870 and the church opened on 21 August 1870. (1865 Report, CCCS, p.131; 1873 Report, CCCS, p.155) Hudson's and Hadow's bodies were recovered and buried on the north side of the church, but Douglas's body was never found. (Whymper, op cit, p.330)
- C. Lord John Russell (1792-1878) was MP 1813-30; 1834-9 Home Secretary; 1839-40 Colonial Secretary; He steered the 1832 Reform Bill through Parliament. He was Prime Minister from 1845-51 and 1865-6; Foreign Secretary 1852-3 and 1859-65. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.17, pp.454-62)
- D. The Memorial stated that English worship in the Vice-Consul's residence had been interrupted by local authorities without giving reasons though precautions were taken not to offend. The Society desired the Government to use its powers to remove restrictions at Seville, Jerez and other places. (Min.Continental Committee, CCCS, 17 June 1862) The following statement of the Bishop of London (Tait) was quoted in the Memorial: 'I am certain that a vast amount of good has been done on the continent through the instrumentality of this Society and I repeat that it would be impossible for me to superintend the chaplains abroad if it were not for the assistance I receive from this Society.'

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- A. The terms of the agreement can be found in the Minutes of the General Committee for 18 August 1861.

IV. THE COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY, 1870-1919

The year 1870 is chosen to mark the beginning of the second phase of the work because until then England was the only colonizing European nation; from 1870, France, Germany, Italy and Russia entered the wider field.⁽¹⁾ Between 1853-90 the British emigration figure reached 7,211,000.^(A) In the three years ending 30 June 1905, 157,000 British emigrants settled in the North-West Territories of Canada alone, and this figure rose to 404,000 if Americans and Continentals were to be included.^{(2)(B)} Thus the years after 1870 saw a second expanded wave of emigration to 'new' territories, but in the 1870s applications were still coming in from established dioceses where a rapid increase in population prevented the regular organization from keeping pace with demands, and where Government grants were withdrawn.⁽³⁾ However, by the 1880s the Society's grants to older colonies were being re-distributed and the Society's missions were extending into the new regions. Wealth had greatly increased in the established regions, and the time had come for the strong to help the weak.⁽⁴⁾ Grants were therefore made to the new pioneer areas of Rupertsland, Saskatchewan, the North-West Territories in Canada, and Goulburn and Perth in Australia.⁽⁵⁾

IV.1. Newfoundland and British North America

IV.1.1. Newfoundland

An Education Act^(C) was passed in 1874 which divided the Protestant grant, and Protestant education was afterwards administered denominationally. But this was not the wish of the Protestants⁽⁶⁾ and, though the Society had a denominational bias, denominationalism was not allowed to interfere with its attempts to give an education to children of all faiths.⁽⁷⁾ If it was disadvantageous in one way, it was advantageous in another: in that, after fifty years of the Society's work in Newfoundland, the Act recognized the Society's position as part of the educational structure, and the grant to the Society's schools was deduced from the Church of England grant.^(D) At that time there were three Central Schools in St. John's and seventeen outport schools, educating a total of 2,361 pupils.⁽⁸⁾ The Rev. W. Pilot (Government Inspector of Schools) paid tribute to the Society's Training Schools, where most of their teachers and the best of the Board's teachers received their training, and to the Society as the pioneer of common school education in Newfoundland.⁽⁹⁾

The grant from the Society to these schools was maintained until 1879 when there was a slight reduction,⁽¹⁰⁾ followed by a further reduction in 1881.⁽¹¹⁾ This seemed to cripple the schools' power to maintain their

existing establishments^(A) since the Society had not benefited from the more recent Government grants, and the work (though not the quality^(B)) had shrunk in comparison with the general undertaking. The 1882 Report welcomed with pleasure the competition the Government schools provided and added that the Society could not hope to rival them through lack of funds.⁽¹⁾ It was at this time, too, that the Government's Inspector reported that the Society's property in the older stations (Port-le-Grave, Harbour Grace, Trinity and Greenspond) needed substantial repair.^(C) The Society could do nothing to help, and after another winter the annual inspection declared nearly all the buildings to be untenable.⁽²⁾ There was a further reduction in the grant from England (to £700 annually).⁽³⁾ The schools however were maintained with a struggle, but the Teacher Training work was still vital.^(D) The need remained of the outports in White Bay, on the Straits of Belle Isle and the Labrador - which were still 'destitute' - could the Society help? A venture of faith was mooted in 1891, but in that year a great fire destroyed all the buildings (including the new brick building and master's house) in St. John's. The work there ceased until funds could be raised for rebuilding.^{(4)(E)} Three years later the schools in Queens Road, St. John's were ready for occupation,⁽⁵⁾ and a teachers home (first suggested in 1883⁽⁶⁾ and erected on land given by the CCCS) opened in January 1896 - with Miss Pride (lately mistress of the infant school) as warden - and six students became residents.⁽⁷⁾ Mr. J.W. Marriott, Headmaster of St. John's School for forty-three years, resigned through ill-health in 1900, and responsibility for training fell to Canon W. Pilot⁽⁸⁾ who later succeeded Marriott as Secretary of the Corresponding Committee.⁽⁹⁾ There were in that year just over 2,000 pupils in twenty-four schools,⁽¹⁰⁾ with thirty-eight student-Teachers in the Central Training School.⁽¹¹⁾ Five lay-readers (formerly pupil-teachers in the Society's School) became ordinands in the Diocesan College in 1902.⁽¹²⁾ In the next two years the numbers attending the Central School declined owing to the establishment of other denominational schools, and new openings for work provided by the construction of the trans-island railway.⁽¹³⁾

A new departure in the schools work was begun in 1906 when the schools at Harbour Grace, Portugal Cove, Greenspond, Heart's Content and Salvage were thrown upon the Boards of Education in their locality, and the Committee transferred the grants to open new schools in Belle Island, Blaketown, Middle Brook, Squid Tickles and the Straits of Belle Isle.⁽¹⁴⁾ This was the beginning of a planned programme of withdrawal from the populous settlements where the Government Education grant had been increased.⁽¹⁵⁾

Prior to this a new advance was made into Newfoundland Labrador. Mr. L. Dicks was located at Cartwright (Sandwich Bay),^(A) but he conducted school in fishermen's cabins or sod huts in fifteen settlements. In order to do this he followed the nomadic way of life of the people.^(B) He was the only agent of the Church of England along the two hundred mile coastline.⁽¹⁾ There were three agencies at work in Labrador: the Moravians among the Esquimaux, the Deep Sea Mission to Fishermen (with which Dr. W. Grenfell was associated) and Dicks who worked among the settlers - though Dicks visited the fishermen, and many half-breeds and Esquimaux came to his services.⁽²⁾ In 1895 a second schoolmaster-catechist was sent and located at Battle Harbour. Mr. Pitcher travelled by komatic or sledge to thirty-four places over a 200 mile stretch of coast, and he conducted a school for half-breeds and Esquimaux at Matthew's Cove.⁽³⁾ Dicks' irregular meals, inferior food and continual exposure caused a fatal illness, and when he died in 1897, Pitcher succeeded him.⁽⁴⁾

The Rev. S.M. Stewart, who was a missionary in Newfoundland, went to Ungava Bay for two months in the summer of 1899 where he discovered tribes of Indians and Esquimaux who had never heard the Gospel. He preached to them through an interpreter, and they afterwards asked him to come and live with them.^{(5)(C)} The Rev. W. Pilot recommended a two-man mission because of the extreme isolation, the Society appealed for £300 annually and the Hon. Captain Blandford,^(D) a friend of the Society, promised to do all he could to support the mission. A year later Stewart and a Mr. Ford^(E) were sent to Ungava with two years provisions and sailed with Blandford to Port Burwell (Ungava Bay). For seventy-five years the Newfoundland work had been essentially educational, though the masters also served as catechists; but now here, as elsewhere, the Society moved into the field of direct missionary work among the Esquimaux, who were also British subjects.⁽⁶⁾

Stewart made his base in Bishop Jones' Village which appeared to be the summer headquarters of the Esquimaux. Several families lived here and there were others in the vicinity. They all came here to transact business - even from Chimo - but Stewart also went to them, and periodically visited them on their hunting trips. Chief Unalik and his son, Manak, began a reformation which extended to the whole tribe.^(F) Winter services were held in igloo shauks or snow houses with temperatures 30° below zero, and Stewart instructed the Esquimaux using the 'Hundred Texts' of the Irish Church Missions. He reached seventy of the Esquimaux regularly.⁽⁷⁾ Within a year he had taught them to observe Sunday, and worship.^(G) There were other evidences of sympathy among them, for instance, several hunters gave nearly five quintals of seal fat in support

of the Society, and Captain Blandford reported (12 December 1901) that the Esquimaux of George's River intended to build their camp half-way between that river and headquarters - to be near Stewart.⁽¹⁾ Stewart by now could speak Eskimo fluently. He wrote that the mission could only be worked from a centre and that it needed to be sited where he could reach Burwell, Nachvak and Chimo, and where he could follow the hunters to the outside islands. He suggested a deputation tour in England in 1903 (after three years in Ungava) and considered that on his return Bishop Jones' Village must be worked as an outpost.⁽²⁾

Fort Chimo became his new headquarters,⁽³⁾ and in 1905 he reported the increasingly heavy financial cost of the work. The Committee had previously stated that it could not commit itself to supporting his successors and suggested that he communicate with Canon Pilot with a view to placing it in the hands of the Missionary Society of the Church of Canada, which had provisionally declared itself in favour of accepting responsibility.^{(4)(A)} The congregation at Chimo averaged 60, and on the return of the hunters two hundred. Stewart itinerated between December and May, and worked in two Indian and three Eskimo dialects.⁽⁵⁾ The young Esquimaux were beginning to take an interest, and they organized services among themselves when off at their hunting places, and visited the sick and ministered to them.⁽⁶⁾

The Rev. J.T. Richards volunteered to work with Stewart in 1906 and arrangements were made for him to join him.⁽⁷⁾ In 1907 Stewart reported that the most earnest candidates for baptism were those who offered most opposition a few years ago. During the winter the Esquimaux travelled inland 100 miles from the coast, and 3-400 had settled on the Koksoak and Whale Rivers. Though this was originally Esquimaux territory, it had been occupied by tribes of wandering Indian.^(B) Stewart had a fleeting contact with these Indian and distributed Gospels and Prayer Books with hymns among them.⁽⁸⁾ He came home on furlough again in 1909 and left some Esquimaux acting as lay-evangelists;⁽⁹⁾ on his return he appointed a christian Esquimaux catechist and the people proposed to build a church in Fort Chimo.⁽¹⁰⁾ A month afterwards Stewart baptised thirty adult Cree Indians which brought the total to ninety-two. A young Indian was appointed lay-reader to the group.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1910, the Rev. E. Hester^(C) joined Stewart as assistant,⁽¹²⁾ and this provided a measure of continuity during future furloughs. Hester, on his way to Chimo, encountered a party of Esquimaux at Cape Westenholme who had been converted and desired baptism. After examination he baptized six men, eight women, eight boys and ten girls, and gave them literature and instructed

them.⁽¹⁾ On his way home in 1913, Stewart brought an Esquimaux boy, Matthew,^(A) to Newfoundland as a candidate for Bishop Feild College to train as a missionary to his own people.⁽²⁾ When Stewart returned to Ungava for the fifth time in 1914, the Rev. E. Hester left for the Diocese of Mackenzie River for work among the Esquimaux at Herschel Island.⁽³⁾ A motor-boat ('The Messenger') arrived in August 1915 for Stewart's use.⁽⁴⁾ The mission had grown through those fifteen years, and now the question of its future pressed for consideration.⁽⁵⁾

A further advance into general missionary work in Newfoundland began in 1907. Pulp industries were founded in the interior by Messrs. Harmsworth and other⁽⁶⁾ at Grand Falls. There were seven settlements, and three of them were developing into towns - Bishop's Falls, Grand Falls and Middle Town.⁽⁷⁾ A new mission was founded here when the Rev. H. Uphill went there in 1908,⁽⁸⁾ and it became self-supporting in 1911.⁽⁹⁾

IV.1.2. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick

In accordance with the principle of the re-distribution of grants from the established to the pioneer areas, those to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were reduced. Large numbers of young people were moving away from the maritimes: the men into the pioneer west where a spirit of progress and enterprise existed, and the girls to the USA where the wages were better.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1907 the Halifax Committee wrote to the Home Committee saying that, in view of the need of the pioneer areas, the time had come to relinquish their grant.⁽¹¹⁾

In 1891, a young man was placed on the Society's list who was to figure largely in the development of the Canadian west for forty years - the Rev. George Exton Lloyd.^(B) Rothesay was a suburb nine miles away from St. John, New Brunswick. Though it was self-supporting, there was a large missionary district attached to it, and a grant was made to Lloyd for this district. He established a resident church school^(C) for boys, with his curate (a graduate of Huron Theological College) as Headmaster.⁽¹²⁾ Two years later there were five resident masters, and through them six parishes received help in their Sunday services.⁽¹³⁾ By 1895 there was a Collegiate school for girls as well as boys,⁽¹⁴⁾ but a year later Lloyd's health failed and he resigned.⁽¹⁵⁾

'Student Evangelists' were used experimentally during the five months long vacation in 1905. A Mr. Watkins, student of Wycliffe College, Toronto went to St. Luke, St. John, and then to 'Aberdeen' (Glassville, Beaufort and outlying stations).⁽¹⁶⁾ A year later the Society paid fifty percent of the expenses of three students and one hundred percent of those of a fourth student evangelist.⁽¹⁷⁾

IV.1.3. The Canadas: Montreal and Quebec

The Society's educational work continued in Quebec until, in 1904, the diocese relinquished the grant given for schools.⁽¹⁾ The Rev. J. Chambers established a mission in the Magdalen Islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1875⁽²⁾ with two schools,⁽³⁾ and he continued there for ten years.⁽⁴⁾ A mission was also established in the Canadian Labrador when Mr. G.W. Willis became schoolmaster during the winter months in St. Paul's, Esquimaux River.⁽⁵⁾ In 1897 a church was opened by the Rev. C.E. Bishop at Harrington Harbour. Later an assistant, the Rev. G. Pye, joined Bishop's successor at Mutton Harbour.⁽⁶⁾ The schools remained in the charge of Mr. Willis and two ladies.⁽⁷⁾

In Montreal the Bible Women's work in connection with the City Mission continued, but in 1873 Mrs. Laughlin resigned on her appointment as matron of the House of Industry and Refuge in Montreal.⁽⁸⁾ In the following year this work ceased when it was merged into St. Jude's Church and parish.⁽⁹⁾ However the Society's grants were still needed for educational work in remote districts, and for the Protestant families in 'French' Canada.⁽¹⁰⁾

In 1871 the schools in Montreal transferred to new buildings.⁽¹¹⁾ The Normal School had 114 students; and since 1839 the Society has assisted or maintained 117 schools⁽¹²⁾ - and in 1874, there were still eighteen country schools on the Society's list and this number was rising.⁽¹³⁾ The silver Jubilee of the Normal Schools came in 1877, and in that year forty-two schools were aided.⁽¹⁴⁾ However, in June 1886 the Normal Schools were closed^(A) owing to the withdrawal of the grant from the Protestant Church Commissioners, and the establishment of other public schools in the vicinity.⁽¹⁵⁾

The educational work of the Church of England missionary Society to the French-speaking population in the Dominion gradually gave way to French evangelization work.⁽¹⁶⁾ In 1873 J.J. Roy returned from France with a young wife from Jersey,⁽¹⁷⁾ was ordained and appointed Travelling Agent for the Sabrevois Mission.⁽¹⁸⁾ A year later he took over the supervision of the Montreal City Mission. His deputation work led to the formation of a branch Society to finance scholarships for those training for mission work.⁽¹⁹⁾ In 1876 he visited England to raise £2,000 for a church and school,⁽²⁰⁾ and on his return he devoted himself to the Mission in Montreal, and the Rev. A.L. Fortin assumed responsibility for his deputation work.⁽²¹⁾ Roy began to hold 'conversational' meetings for converts to deal with controversial subjects, where they learned how to reply to their Roman Catholic friends.⁽²²⁾ In 1879, the first French-speaking Protestant Episcopal Church

in Montreal was opened free of debt with the Rev. J.J. Roy as first incumbent.^{(1)(A)} The Rev. L.N. Tucker was Principal of the Schools and incumbent of Sabrevois. It was proposed in 1880 to transfer the schools to Montreal, and to continue them in connection with the City Mission - this was at the time of the reduction of the Society's grant. But, in the event, only the boarding establishment was transferred.⁽²⁾ Three years later Tucker replaced Roy as incumbent of the Eglise du Rédempteur in Montreal, and the Revs. Jean Roy remained at Sabrevois, B.P. Lewis at St. Grégoire and D. Larivière at St. Francis (for the Indian work).⁽³⁾ At the time of the closing of the Normal Schools in Montreal, the Sabrevois Mission school reopened under the Principalship of the Rev. D. Larivière. But the closure of schools now marked the withdrawal of aid to the country district schools and its transfer to directly evangelistic work. The Sabrevois Mission Schools were recognized as the Church Training College in the Diocese of Montreal, and nineteen students were re-admitted - all of French descent.⁽⁴⁾ It soon became clear that the pastorate had to be separated from the principalship of the schools, but this could only be done if funds were available.⁽⁵⁾ A year later (1889), an assistant was appointed in the schools which relieved the Rev. D. Larivière for more church work, and eased the situation.

But at this time a call came from seven families in Quebec and Larivière went and held a service in Trinity Church for French-speaking Roman Catholics, and his brother (the Rev. L.V. Larivière) became their permanent pastor.⁽⁶⁾ In his first year there fourteen Roman Catholics were received into the Church of England.⁽⁷⁾ In 1892 the Diocese of Rhode Island in the United States appealed for a French-speaking clergyman and the Rev. L.V. Larivière transferred from Quebec to organize the work there.⁽⁸⁾ Ten clergy in the church were products of these schools,⁽⁹⁾ and one reads of former pupils gaining high honours in the Universities.^(B) But by the end of the century the Sabrevois work was confined to the Eglise du Rédempteur and the College in Montreal.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1902, the Missionary Society of the Church of Canada took the Rev. L.N. Tucker^(C) as its first General Secretary,⁽¹¹⁾ and the Rev. H.E. Benoît became pastor of the church.⁽¹²⁾ The Mission trained men for the ministry abroad as well as at home: Mr. S. Dayan (a colporteur) was ordained for missionary work in Southern China, and two students were supported in the Diocesan College for work in the mission districts at home upon ordination.⁽¹³⁾

Principal Larivière resigned in 1904,⁽¹⁴⁾ and Benoît became both Principal and Pastor.⁽¹⁵⁾ Ground was being gained - lapsed Roman Catholics were being converted.⁽¹⁶⁾ In 1908 thirty-one were received into the Church of England within twelve months, and twelve were waiting

to be received.⁽¹⁾ The schools had become too small, but also were now caught up in the commercial and industrial expansion area of the city. Consequently in 1911 both church and college buildings were sold and the Mission moved twenty miles from Montreal. Five acres were offered near Macdonald College on condition that the school was built within five years.⁽²⁾ The new church sited on Sherbrooke Street with a schoolroom on the ground floor was opened on 2 January 1913, but the question of the re-siting of the school remained open.⁽³⁾ During the 'closed' period there were thirty-four families and seventy-seven communicants associated with the work. The fruits of the work were largely hidden, however, since converts tended to join other existing congregations rather than form a congregation themselves. But the Report for 1905 claimed that, over the years, the Sabrevois Mission had given some 8,000 people to the Canadian Church.⁽⁴⁾

IV.1.4. Huron and Algoma

Three classes of aid was still given to these Dioceses (Algoma was created in 1873^(A)): for Indian work at Manitoulin, for the coloured settlers at Orilla and the immigrant settlers at Parry Sound.⁽⁵⁾

The Rev. E.F. Wilson (son of the Vicar of Islington) was sent to the Garden River Indian Mission to found an Industrial Training School.⁽⁶⁾

Here the boys were trained in carpentry, tailoring, shoe-making and farming, and this scheme attracted the Ojibwas, Delawares, Iroquois and Mohawks.⁽⁷⁾ The parsonage was extended to accommodate thirty Indian boarders, and it was surrounded by a sixty-acre farm. The intention was to make Garden River the centre from which to reach the Indians on the shores of Lake Huron.⁽⁸⁾

Some of the Indian Missions now began to develop Indian leaders: for example, the Rev. H. Pahtahquahong Chase^(B) was in charge of the Oneidas, Munceys and Ojibwas^(C) at Munceytown, and the Rev. J. Jacobs was stationed at Sarnia and Kettlepoint. At Munceytown, in thirteen years three churches had been built, and 210 Indians had been received into the Church of England. House churches were a feature of the Sarnia work.⁽⁹⁾

St. John's Church, Kettlepoint and St. Peter's, Sarnia Reserve were opened in 1884.⁽¹⁰⁾ At Munceytown there were 100 Indians at Zion Church, sixty at St. John's (Chippeways) and slightly fewer at St. Paul's (Munceys).⁽¹¹⁾

Aid to the Diocese of Huron was gradually withdrawn from 1893,⁽¹²⁾ and by 1899 only two Indian Missions were supported: at Thames Reserve and Welpole Island.⁽¹³⁾ The Indian grant was completely withdrawn in 1904.⁽¹⁴⁾

There is nothing to report about the Coloured or City Mission work during this period, though they continued.

On 7 September 1871, Dr. Hellmuth was elected assistant Bishop of Huron with the title of 'Norfolk',⁽¹⁾ but Bishop Cronyn died on 23 September and Dr. Hellmuth was immediately elected Bishop of Huron.⁽²⁾ Isaac Hellmuth had an important connection with Huron College and the 'Western University'. Huron College had produced sixty clergy in sixteen years, but the need of a University founded on the European model for a complete education had still to be met. He visited England in 1877 in connection with the proposed 'Western University' of London, Ontario. A Parliamentary Charter was granted and a subscriptions list was being raised. The intention clearly was to establish it on evangelical lines.⁽³⁾ Dr. Alfred Peache^(A) offered to endow a chair of Divinity with a gift of £5,000,⁽⁴⁾ and Hellmuth wrote to the Society on 14 March 1896 that he had advised Dr. Peache to vest the patronage and appointment of the Principal and Divinity Professor of Huron College in the CCCS.⁽⁵⁾ This Divinity Professorship was to be called the 'Peaché Chair' of Western University.⁽⁶⁾ In June 1896 Dr. Peache wrote to the Committee enclosing a copy of the resolution of the Council of Huron College with reference to the Chair, and the Committee then resolved to assume the conditions governing it to ensure an Evangelical tradition.⁽⁷⁾ It is interesting to note the fact that, during a period of liberal tendencies in the realm of theological ideas, the Society increasingly supported conservative theological education. A year later, the Society made a grant of £100 annually for three years to establish a classical Professorship,⁽⁸⁾ and three years later it contributed towards the education of divinity students in the University.⁽⁹⁾ In 1905 the terms of the Society's grant was made 'in order to enable the University to provide...free tuition in the Arts Department to Divinity students.'⁽¹⁰⁾

A resolution was passed by the Council of Huron College on 26 May 1905 requesting diocesan representation on its body (in order to bring the College into organic connection with the diocese), and to leave the selection of the Principal (the offices of Principal and Divinity Professor were then combined) to the Council and Bishop, subject to the Society's veto.⁽¹¹⁾ The Society's Colonial sub-committee reported on 17 October on the proposal to alter the Huron College's Constitution, and the Committee resolved to consider if favourable, subject to maintaining the fundamental object of the Trust.^(B) The new Council was to comprise eight clergy and eight laymen; half were to be members of the original Council or co-opted members, and half were to be elected by the Bishop and Synod of the Diocese of Huron. In any future vacancies the Canadian Council was to nominate three or four candidates whose names together with credentials were to be sent for consideration and selection by the Home Committee.⁽¹²⁾ Within three years of this change, to secure greater diocesan identification, the

Bishop had persuaded the City of London, Ontario to adopt the Western University as the municipal University. Huron College remained as the Theological Faculty.⁽¹⁾ The 1913 Report stated that its graduates included one bishop, several deans, archdeacons and canons in Canada and the USA, and that it had, through them, a deep and lasting influence on Canadian Church life.⁽²⁾

The Society received an application from the Principal of Wycliffe College, Toronto, in 1902 for aid to found studentships. A grant of £30 annually was made for one student on condition that the holder proceeded to ordination, and placed himself at the disposal of the Committee for work in one of its mission districts for a term of years.⁽³⁾

In 1873 the new 'missionary' Diocese of Algoma was carved out of the west of the Diocese of Huron.⁽⁴⁾ Three of the Society's missionaries were working in the area that was separated from Huron: the Revs. E.F. Wilson (Garden River), R. Hill (Manitoulin) and C. Mosely (Parry Sound). The Society continued to support them and a fourth - a travelling missionary. In that year the Garden River Mission buildings were razed to the ground by fire, and it was decided to erect the new headquarters in Sault Ste. Marie - the new diocesan capital.⁽⁵⁾ The Indian work declined in Manitoulin and regular Sunday services were not held from 1875,⁽⁶⁾ but Wilson's work grew. The Shingwauk Home was to be confined to boys, and a separate home was to be built for girls.⁽⁷⁾ In 1876 there were fifty-one residents in the Shingwauk Home and, in addition to his work here, Wilson conducted fortnightly services in Garden River.⁽⁸⁾ A year later the Wawanosh Girls Home was opened.⁽⁹⁾ Fifty-four boys and eighteen girls were in residence in these homes in 1879.⁽¹⁰⁾ Wilson's vision was for a chain of the homes from Ontario to the Rockies, and to accomplish this he suggested joining forces with the Methodists and Presbyterians! The Jesuits were actively at work (1886), for a cathedral had been built and a bishop sent as early as 1876 to Sault Ste. Marie. Roman Catholic parents who sent their children to these Protestant schools were threatened with excommunication.⁽¹¹⁾ A project was conceived of establishing Branch Homes in centres east and west of Sault Ste. Marie because of the Indians' strong attachment to their children, and their natural reluctance to send them as far as Sault Ste. Marie. But this was postponed so that the two existing homes could be strengthened.⁽¹²⁾ Two new homes were, in fact, opened in 1889 at Elkhorn^(A) Manitoba (Kasota for boys and Washakadea for girls), and it was planned to open a further two homes at Medicine Hat (500 miles west of Elkhorn).⁽¹³⁾ Wilson resigned in 1892 and was replaced by the Rev. J. Irvine.⁽¹⁴⁾

The two original schools were combined in 1899 when the Wawanosh Home was sold and rebuilt beside the modernized Shingwauk Home. They then shared the dining room facilities, and this made for more economical management.⁽¹⁾ At the turn of the century industrial development showed signs of promise when an American syndicate opened up industries combined with iron ore and nickel mining on the shores of Lake Superior, but many had gone to the west to the farming area of the prairies which were more productive.⁽²⁾ This led to a dropping off of receipts of the homes - there were growing opportunities of work.⁽³⁾ The homes were also affected financially by the pressure of claims on the funds of the Missionary Society of the Church of Canada,⁽⁴⁾ and in 1907 the homes lost nearly all the aid that the Canadian Church provided; the Canadian Government was unwilling to increase aid^(A) and the future of this work was threatened.⁽⁵⁾ Staff reductions and a reduced intake followed two years later.⁽⁶⁾ The Director of the homes had resigned in 1909 through ill-health,⁽⁷⁾ and a new Principal (the Rev. B.P. Fuller) was appointed to establish the schools on simpler and more economical lines. A year later the Government and the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church recognized the schools' claims,⁽⁸⁾ and their prospects improved. In 1911 there were sixty-five pupils,⁽⁹⁾ and by 1914 there were seventy-nine - the homes were full and the debt had been removed!⁽¹⁰⁾

IV.1.5. Rupertsland

The movement of population westward into the Prairies was growing. The Report for 1881 remarked that ten years previously Winnipeg was the end of settled territory (population 500), but in that year it had become the gateway of a new empire (population 13,000).⁽¹¹⁾ Immigrants came from all parts of Eastern Canada as well as Europe.⁽¹²⁾ Between 1879-83 the population had doubled, and a vast area of prairie land became peopled by small settlements. This was facilitated by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway which crossed the whole southern edge of this ecclesiastical province, uniting Lake Superior with the Rocky Mountains. Hundreds of settled townships had sprung up in Manitoba without a resident clergyman, and this would, in a few years, be true of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.⁽¹³⁾ The early missions along the Assiniboine and Red Rivers were supported entirely by Church Societies in England. The CCCS supported work in this area among half-breeds and settlers, but the rate of flow of population into it made the problem of ministry acute.⁽¹⁴⁾ The new settlers struggled for a livelihood, and they could not pay for their minister; but the diocesan 'home mission' policy of the Canadian

Church riveted the attention of each locality on itself, and Rupertsland received much less in aid than it needed to be able to cope with the sudden influx of settlers. The CCCS was asked to raise its grant to £500.⁽¹⁾ Indeed the 1877 Report had said that the diocese needed many more men and supplementary grants for a long while to come.⁽²⁾ The Society provided £550 for ten large missions in the diocese, and these grants were on a reducing basis to press the people into self-support and wean them into independence. Grants could then be applied rapidly to other areas.⁽³⁾ Apart from the foreign element, many of those who came from Britain had long since lost touch with the church and religious life, thus making the task the more difficult but the more necessary.⁽⁴⁾ Yet there are examples of the ministry being eagerly sought.^(A) Services were held in log-cabins,^(B) and people would come to them on horse, oxen or foot. People on the Prairies wanted Church of England services, and if they were not supplied, they would be absorbed into other denominations through neglect.⁽⁵⁾

By 1904 three missions were self-supporting; twenty-three churches were in building, and fifteen of them would be ready for use within twelve months.⁽⁶⁾ But also in that year twenty-five missions in the diocese were vacant through lack of funds and men. The CCCS supported fifteen missions.⁽⁷⁾ The Archbishop (S.P. Matheson) reported in 1904 that he could place fifteen men immediately if they were available, and appealed to the Society to send men for training in the diocesan College - St. John's, Winnipeg^(C) - or to provide studentships.⁽⁸⁾ By 1910 the churchmanship of the College, though 'moderate' was distinctly 'non-evangelical', and the Secretary of the Society wrote to the Archbishop saying that he thought it would only be possible to send men, if those could be chosen who would maintain Evangelical principles and be an influence in College.⁽⁹⁾

It is obvious that a diocese growing as fast as this would need to be divided. As early as 1872 Archdeacon McLean^(D) was in London, England to raise an endowment for the Bishopric of Saskatchewan. The Archbishop (Robert Machray) was far-sighted enough to write in 1872,

'The character of the church work in the future may depend to a great extent on our being able without delay to build up an organization for the Church... if the Archdeacon succeeds in raising the necessary endowment for the Saskatchewan Bishopric, then we shall be able to secure...the establishment of the Church here on the foundation of the Evangelical principles we value.'⁽¹⁰⁾

IV.1.6. Saskatchewan and Calgary

The Society responded to McLean's appeal immediately, making an exception to their rule, in granting £100 to the Bishopric Endowment Fund, and an annual grant of £100 for a travelling missionary. The Rev. John McLean^(A) was appointed first Bishop in 1874,⁽¹⁾ and two men arrived in the spring of that year for the mission districts of Carlton and Edmonton.⁽²⁾ Immigrants came and began to form settlements, like that at Prince Albert, but initially the population was chiefly Indian - and many of them (Plain Crees, Blackfeet, Sioux) were still heathen. Treaties had been made with them by the Dominion Government, and order was established by the Mounted Police. This opened the way for the Gospel and general education. The Bishop aimed at getting a trained band of native interpreters, schoolmasters, catechists and pastors who, because they were natives, would be familiar with the language and modes of thought of the Indians.⁽³⁾ Mr. C. Whitford was appointed schoolmaster in Prince Albert in 1877 and catechist to the Duck Lake Indians (thirty-five miles away from the settlement). His first journey to the Indians was made on 10 June 1877.⁽⁴⁾ Two years later McLean established the Emmanuel College^(B) in Prince Albert, and a former pupil of the Bishop (Rev. J.A. Mackay) joined the staff as Tutor in Cree. But tutors in the Blackfeet and Sioux languages were still needed.⁽⁵⁾ A year later there were ten students, eight of whom were Cree Indians training for work among their own people.⁽⁶⁾ On 7 May 1881 a Cree Indian was ordained deacon after two years^(C) in Emmanuel College.⁽⁷⁾ Meanwhile Canon Mackray had translated family prayers into the syllabic characters of Cree, and the SPCK had printed them. Within three years there were thirty students.^{(8)(D)}

McLean applied for a Charter in 1882 for Emmanuel College, and a year later the Governor General sanctioned the Act constituting the College as the 'University of Saskatchewan', and McLean as Chancellor with power to confer degrees in all faculties.^(E) In the following year thirty-four students enrolled,⁽⁹⁾ Constant checks in the development were caused by repeated Indian rebellions during the years 1885-7.^(F) Prince Albert had to be fortified and settlers gathered there, and a garrison of 400 armed men kept constant guard on it.⁽¹⁰⁾ This intensified the Bishop's zeal to reach the Indians, and he applied himself to extending the missionary development of Emmanuel College and opened an experimental farm. In 1886 there were four clergy for white settlements. McLean died in 1887. Two students were ordained in 1890, but after that there is no record of ordinations for the next twenty years, and Emmanuel College became an Indian Industrial School.⁽¹¹⁾ The 1888 Report referred to the

Rev. A.A.H. Wright as an itinerant missionary to Carlton, Saskatoon, Carrot River, Birch Hills and Lower Flat at distances from Prince Albert respectively of 45, 109, 53, 41 and 15 miles.

Calgary was separated from the Diocese of Saskatchewan in 1887 by the Provincial Synod of the Diocese of Rupertsland but, owing to lack of an endowment, it was impossible then to implement it.⁽²⁾ It achieved independence only in 1903.⁽³⁾ A new work was undertaken by the Society in Calgary in 1889,⁽⁴⁾ and a year later the grant was increased for the Sheep Creek and High River districts where there were nine rapidly growing settlements.⁽⁵⁾ Two years later a rush of immigration was reported in the Red Deer and Edmonton districts and the Bishop of Saskatchewan wrote to Handley C.G. Moule for men for them.⁽⁶⁾ The Rev. R. Murray Webb-Peploe went to St. Patrick's Mission, Sheep Creek in 1894,⁽⁷⁾ and by 1900 a new mission was supported at Sturgeon Creek (twelve miles north of Edmonton) which had four districts (New Lunnon, Excelsior, Sturgeon and Poplar Lake). Sturgeon and Poplar Lake both had churches.⁽⁸⁾

At the Society's Annual Meeting in London in 1905, the Archbishop of Rupertsland (Matheson) said,

'Fancy what that would mean for the future of the Church if the Church could be established concurrently with incoming settlement!...we desire you (the motherland) to make a special effort to meet a special need... it is a crisis probably never again to be met with in the history of a daughter Church. The assistance must be profuse, but it need not be prolonged. All we need is to plant the Church and sustain it for a few years, and it will soon sustain itself. But remember, the present crisis calls for no small scheme. It will need the combination of all our resources and of all our Societies for the next few years...No small ideas, no circumscribed schemes, no parochialism, no diocesanism, but imperialism in our views of the situation.'⁽⁹⁾

The tide of settlers in the North-West was rising, and the further it advanced westward the Society's grants followed. But this was a new departure. The Church was to be established 'concurrently' with settlement! The missionaries were to accompany the people! The turn of the century saw a movement in aid of our fellow countrymen that captured the imagination of the church at home, and it was chiefly associated with the name of George Exton Lloyd. In December 1901 Lloyd was appointed special deputation secretary of the CCCS,⁽¹⁰⁾ and two weeks later he became a co-opted member of the Colonial sub-committee of the Society.⁽¹¹⁾

In the new year of 1902 Lloyd visited Canada again and reported

on 27 May 1902 to the Committee that there was a vastly increased immigration into the North-Western Territories. The triennial General Synod of the Canadian Church to be held in Montreal in the September of that year was to consider a reorganization scheme for the Home Mission work of the Church, and he recommended that the Secretary be sent to represent the Society, and reorganize its work along parallel lines. He further suggested that the Society should consider subsidies to the Dioceses of Saskatchewan and Kootenay with a view to securing Evangelical bishops, and a co-adjutor Bishop of Selkirk.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile a large colony^(A) of British subjects was being organized for settling in a district of Saskatchewan, and Lloyd volunteered to accompany this colony as the Society's missionary - 'The Committee...for once at least secured that the Gospel should accompany the settler instead of following after years of delay.'⁽²⁾ This offer was accepted and Lloyd was appointed on a salary of £250 reducing by £50 annually to establish a mission in the Saskatchewan Valley.⁽³⁾ His 'unwearied energy and convincing eloquence' was commended by the Committee on 10 March 1903, to which they attributed 'much of the interest now manifested in the Society's operations.'⁽⁴⁾ Extracts from Lloyd's letters recorded in the Reports state that the colony reached St. John on Easter Day morning in 1903, entrained and rolled westward for six nights. They left the railway at Saskatoon on 21 April and travelled overland to Battleford, 100 miles from Saskatoon.⁽⁵⁾ But confusion reigned among the colonists when they arrived in Battleford,^(B) and by a mass-meeting Lloyd was asked to take charge of the entire affairs of the colony. This he agreed to do with a committee of twelve and until townships had been settled, and a proper committee and director had been elected. Also by a mass vote the colony was to be known as 'Britannia Colony', and the first town 'Lloydminster'. In 1903 the district then settled comprised twenty-two townships with thirty-six square miles each, and already 600 homesteads had been erected.⁽⁶⁾

Lloyd shared the initial hardships, established worship in several centres, and laid the foundations of self-support. The Rev. D.T. Davies (area secretary of the CCCS in England) volunteered to assist Lloyd for three years in the centres more than thirty miles from him.⁽⁷⁾ Whilst waiting for his arrival, services were arranged at three points: 10 a.m. at the headquarters camp; 3 p.m. at Stringer's tent (fifteen miles down trail); and twenty miles further on for an evening service. But in every case he failed to reach the point on time because of the difficulties of travel. Three other points were being arranged and

Mr. Ellis (a lay-reader) would take these alternating with Lloyd. The plan was for Lloyd to erect rough wooden churches at suitable centres, buying lumber in Edmonton and floating it down river and using the co-operative labours of the colonists to build.⁽¹⁾ Lloyd decided to bring down from Edmonton enough wood to build seven churches^(A) which, when they were extended, would remain as chancels.⁽²⁾ A church with a seating capacity of 150-200 was built at Lbydminster where there was already twenty or more houses, stores and shacks. Lloyd's plan was for a separate church centre or nucleus of a congregation every few miles, so that every homestead may be within moderate driving distance of a place of worship. Within a year there were twenty-one centres.^{(3)(B)} Davies, when he arrived, was sent to Saskatoon.⁽⁴⁾

In August 1905 Lloyd was appointed Archdeacon, and when the Rev. C. Carruthers joined him he had three clerical assistants, five lay-readers and three divinity students.⁽⁵⁾ Lloyd came to England in 1906-7 to secure more support for the 'Saskatchewan Plan'^(C), and in his absence the Bishop revived the Charter of Emmanuel College at a meeting held in his residence on 26 March 1907.⁽⁶⁾ Lloyd had come to England for sixty men: five 'driving' clergy and fifty-five catechists.^(D) On 27 November 1906 a great 'farewell' meeting was held in the Exeter Hall, Strand for the Saskatchewan sixty.⁽⁷⁾ The Secretary of the Society (the Rev. J.D. Mullins) launched the Society's North-West Canada Appeal for £42,000, spread over seven years, for fifty missions with churches, passages and studentships in corresponding numbers. Within a year £12,000 was received or promised.⁽⁸⁾ Archdeacon Lloyd sailed with his fifty-five catechists on 19 April 1907 - these were mostly experienced Church Army captains or Scripture Readers, supported by separate parishes or individuals as their own 'colonial' missionary. When they arrived at Saskatoon on 2 May they were sent to destitute places along the railway, and as far as they could go over proposed routes where people had settled in anticipation.⁽⁹⁾ These laymen would administer the area supervised by a band of travelling clergy to provide the sacraments.⁽¹⁰⁾ (Wooden churches were built at a cost of £50 each, and by 1907 fifty-six had been 'given'.^{(11)(E)}) By 1908 there were nine clergy and forty-four catechists in the field and, though they should have been self-supporting within three years, they needed support for an extra two years owing to failure in the harvests. Emmanuel College was fully organized by 1908 for a five-year course.⁽¹²⁾

Lloyd returned to England for more candidates in 1909 (thirty-five more had been accepted - all for Saskatchewan), and the Archbishops

of Canterbury and York were so impressed by the urgency of the North-West that they issued their own Appeal.^{(1)(A)} In that year the North-West Territories were formed into two civil Provinces - Saskatchewan and Alberta, each with their own Provincial Governments. An Act of the Saskatchewan Legislature set up the Provincial University at Saskatoon.⁽²⁾ Following this Emmanuel College was moved from Prince Albert to Saskatoon,^(B) and was housed in temporary buildings erected by Archdeacon Lloyd and the students, and this gave the men the advantage of the University (Arts' teaching. The Emmanuel College course was then reduced to four years.^(C) The proceeds of the transfer together with the £10,000 from the Pan-Anglican Thankoffering, enabled permanent buildings to be erected on a site granted by the State University. The CCCS provided the stipend^(D) of the Principal and Vice-Principal for five years, retaining the veto on the appointments.⁽³⁾ Lloyd resigned the Archdeaconry in 1909 and was subsequently known as 'Principal' Lloyd.⁽⁴⁾ On 25 September 1910 twenty-five of the men who went out with him in 1907 were made deacons^(E) in the pro-Cathedral in Prince Albert; eighteen were to serve with the Society. The Society made a third grant to the College a year later, and the Rev. Dr. Griffith-Thomas (who was then Divinity Professor at Wycliffe College, Toronto) was sent there for a course for deacons,^(F) and the Rev. W.A. Ferguson (Head of Bishop's Hostel, Liverpool) joined the staff.⁽⁵⁾ In 1911 a Corresponding Committee with Bishop Lloyd as Secretary was formed.⁽⁶⁾

The College's permanent buildings were completed on 27 September 1911 and occupied,⁽⁷⁾ but they were not formally opened until 8 June 1912.⁽⁸⁾ The Society assumed entire financial responsibility for the maintenance of the College from 8 January 1912 for ten years, owing to the financial straits of the diocese caused by a succession of bad harvests. But from this moment the College became inter-diocesan in character, and could become a potent force to aid the whole church in Western Canada.^{(9)(G)} No additional financial burdens were imposed upon the Society, but the financial responsibility was undertaken at a time when this, in the ordinary course, would be reducing.^{(10)(H)}

When the Great War came, twenty-six Emmanuel College men enlisted and the numbers in residence were greatly reduced.^{(11)(I)} Consequently large numbers of mission districts were without pastors or services, and there was no hope of remedying this until the war came to an end. In April 1916 Principal Lloyd terminated his connection with the Society, and resigned as Principal.⁽¹²⁾ This step seemed to be inevitable owing to his impatience over the Society's postponement of his plans for extending the College's programme to train teachers for the Prairie schools. There was an understanding, however, between the Statutory Council of

Emmanuel College and the University that the College should establish only the Faculty of Theology. The Society had assented in principle to Lloyd's scheme for sending out church teachers for Western Canada^(A) as a department of its operations, but it could not accept it as substitute for the existing method of sending ordinands. The public mind in England was not ripe for launching anything unconnected with the war. Lloyd wished to be free to follow his own path.^{(1)(B)}

Lloyd originated other ideas which had an influence beyond Canada. In 1907 he thought of sending Sunday school lessons by post to two small boys⁽²⁾ and he began a movement. In March 1911, the Home Department Sunday School of the diocese (generally known as 'Sunday School by Post') began its fourth year. Miss J.L. Bolton was Superintendent. When members graduated from this Sunday school they joined the Scripture Union Branch of the Home Department. In 1911 there were thirty members, and in that year, too, enquiries about Sunday School by Post were received from the Dioceses of Manitoba, Qu'Appelle and the Fiji Islands.^{(3)(C)} In 1915, after eight years there were daughter groups in Calgary and Edmonton. Standards were high and candidates entering for the Sunday School Commission's examinations carried off prizes. There were several cases reported of parents who started regular small Sunday Schools and gathering other children with their own.⁽⁴⁾ In 1915 Sunday School by Post was adopted by the 'Young Empire Builders' (the young people's branch of the parent Society) as a branch of their own work.⁽⁵⁾ The work grew - two years later there were 1,000 members, and in 1918 there were 1,400 members - in the Prairies.⁽⁶⁾ In this latter year there were enquiries from other denominations.⁽⁷⁾

An appeal was made in 1907 for deaconesses for Canada, and the Ladies Association at home interviewed and arranged passages for candidates with private means.⁽⁸⁾ A deaconesses house was built in Saskatoon to be used as a receiving house and residence for lady workers. The Misses Ridley and Simcox sailed for work amongst the immigrants, but that work was eventually taken over by the Young Women's Christian Association which Miss Simcox helped to found there, and the trend was towards supplying teachers for Saskatoon. The Church workers hostel needed to be sited near Emmanuel College, and on 10 October 1913, a new hostel was opened by the Archbishop of Rupertsland (in the presence of fourteen other bishops) to prepare christian teachers for work in the public schools. It was inter-diocesan in character.⁽⁹⁾

The Report for 1913 stated that since 1903 200 clergy and lay evangelists had gone to Western Canada, and of the laymen sixty had been

ordained.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop of Gloucester (E.C.S. Gibson) said at the Cheltenham Auxiliary Meeting in that year, 'The Society was the first to wake up the Church of England to the needs of North-Western Canada and by that action has helped to wake up the people at home to the greatness of the claim upon their support.'⁽²⁾

IV.1.7. The Remaining North Western Dioceses of Canada

Several Missions sprang up during these years in a number of new dioceses: in the Peace River District of Athabasca in 1899;⁽³⁾ the Caron-Herbert Mission in Qu'Appelle (formerly Assiniboia) offered by the Bishop to the Society at Easter 1909;⁽⁴⁾ the Western Moosonee Mission under the Rev. J.N. Blodgett (a former Head of the Caron-Herbert Mission), when the Bishop in 1918 offered the Society charge of the Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways,⁽⁵⁾ though work had been done there since 1898.⁽⁶⁾ The Society made a grant to the proposed 'Latimer Hall' Theological College, Vancouver for a Principal. This venture received substantial local financial support which revealed the extent of local sympathy. A conference was to be held in Victoria B.C. to found a 'St. Mark's' College to be the only recognized Theological College on the Pacific coast. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Davidson) questioned the Society's support of Latimer Hall in view of the proposed St. Mark's College, but by January 1911 an episcopal conference had defined the position and status of Latimer Hall (an Evangelical College) in relation to St. Mark's - both were to be attached to the General Provincial Divinity Board.⁽⁷⁾

IV.2. The West Indies

This was the period during which the Society transferred its grants from schools to clergy in Jamaica. The Education grant was no longer needed since the Jamaica Government had taken up the education question. But the Church in Jamaica was struggling as a result of disendowment. By 1873 the Society's education grant had been withdrawn in all but two schools, and the transfer worked well without causing too much disturbance to existing agencies.⁽⁸⁾ The Bishop of Jamaica (E. Nuttall) reported to the Society in July 1903 that the CCCS was then the largest single supporter of work in the diocese.⁽⁹⁾

The Ponce Mission (Porto Rico, Spanish West Indies) for Protestants was established after the proclamation of religious freedom in Spain. A congregation was formed of many nationalities and denominations and the Society's grant (from 1888) gave the work greater permanence.⁽¹⁰⁾

IV.3. The East Indies

The Rev. J. Barton (Christ Church, Madras) wrote home in 1874 about the need of training an indigenous ministry, and asked aid for men to head a movement for this, and for St. John's, Bangalore.⁽¹⁾

In Panchgani (Bombay) a Miss M. Ashlin gave £1,000 in 1898 to found a girls' school for the poorer whites and Eurasians. This proved successful and became practically self-supporting. A few boys were admitted but were housed separately. The school chaplain assisted in the education of the boys and the CCCS made a grant of £200 annually for the work. However in 1901 the school received a legacy of £11,800 from Miss Ashlin,⁽²⁾ and by 1903 a permanent site had been purchased for the school buildings. Two years later St. Peter's Church High School for boys was opened as a separate establishment. Over the years some pupils transferred to English public schools.⁽³⁾ In 1913 the School became officially connected with St. Lawrence's College, Ramsgate, England, and most of the boys who proceeded to England completed their studies there.⁽⁴⁾

IV.4. South Africa

Though the Society assisted in establishing a large number of missions in the Dioceses of Capetown and Grahamstown, most mission districts had by now become independent parishes. The need of aid from the Society diminished during the early years of this period.⁽⁵⁾ But since the Boer War there had been a large influx of white settlement, and the Society wanted to supply needs in other South African dioceses. In May 1902 the Dean of Peterborough and the Secretary went to obtain the Archbishop of Canterbury's (Frederick Temple) sympathy and approval of its efforts to extend its work in South Africa. It was proposed to write a letter to the bishops there offering clergy and grants. The Archbishop gave the deputation an encouraging reception and, in June 1902, the Archbishop himself addressed a commendatory letter to the South African bishops.⁽⁶⁾ But the replies received from them were not on the whole encouraging!⁽⁷⁾ This could be explained by the fact that by now the sympathies of the Church in South Africa were no longer Evangelical. The Rev. R.G. Lamb, for instance, in 1872 had written home referring to 'a most singular revival of a popular sacerdotal and sacramental religion,'⁽⁸⁾ and the 1906 Report remarked that the South African Church was distinctly 'High'.⁽⁹⁾ But in 1904 some lay Evangelicals and 'moderate' churchmen in Kimberley (Bloemfontein) arranged with the Bishop to be allowed to start a church on their own Evangelical lines, and the Rev. W. Brailsford (formerly of Prieska), on a Society grant, went to begin services on

7 May 1905 in a hotel room.⁽¹⁾ St. John the Evangelist Church was opened on 19 December of that year.⁽²⁾

The South African Church Railway Mission appealed for aid in 1903 and the Society sent two chaplains to travel on the Mission coach holding services and visiting gangers' huts.⁽³⁾ The Rev. J.H. Warner worked in the Grahamstown Diocese (on tour and at railway camps) on the 300 miles of railway between Johannesburg and Komati Port. Waterval Onder became the centre from which he went for services to ten other districts.⁽⁴⁾ Two years later the Rev. F.H. Kinch joined the staff of the mission.⁽⁵⁾

IV.5. Australia and New Zealand

The Swan parish (Perth) became responsible for a boys' orphanage and industrial school in 1875, a native and half-caste mission in 1889 and a servants' home.⁽⁶⁾ The established dioceses like Goulburn asked for a continuation of aid to further work in their new parochial districts,⁽⁷⁾ and, of course, the appeal of the new settlement regions - North Queensland for example - was pressing. Clearly, itinerating clergy were needed in these areas. The Bishop of North Queensland (G.H. Stanton) wanted several pioneer clergy ('emergency men', 'scouts') who would find settlements, minister, buy a site for a church and collect the first year's stipend for a 'permanent' man and then go on elsewhere.⁽⁸⁾ A railway ran westward from Townsville to induce settlement of the interior of Queensland, and the Railway Department gave a £5 yearly-season ticket to the pioneer clergy.⁽⁹⁾ Pioneers opened up three regions: Mount Albion and Irvine Bank (120 miles from the coast) under the Rev. J.H. Farbrother; the Western Railway mission on a part-time basis by a Townsville clergyman; and Normanton and Croydon in the Gulf country.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Rev. W. Maitland-Woods was located on Thursday Island for work among the Polynesian Islanders and the Japanese who came in their pearl luggers, and he visited the New Guinea coast among the diving boats.⁽¹¹⁾ The Rev. C.W. Tomkins (Ayr) gave his confirmation lectures in several places, and sent copies to those who could not attend at the centres. He intended to requisition the telephone as a catechizing medium to those candidates from the Cape Bowling Green Lighthouse.⁽¹²⁾

The parochial system was impossible to work in far north-west Queensland, and a solution to the problem was found in the celtic pattern of 'brotherhoods'.^(A) Herberton was chosen as the centre of a Bush Brotherhood,⁽¹³⁾ and, when in 1901, the Diocese of Carpenteria was carved

out of the northern parts of three dioceses including North Queensland, Thursday Island became the Bishop's centre and the whole diocese was worked by the Bishop and five priests with two deacons.⁽¹⁾ The Rev. W.M. Wilkinson undertook a tour of the Northern Territory which attracted widespread attention in the Australian secular and anti-religious press which commented upon his 'apostolic' labours.^(A)

Three 'Bust' dioceses were carved out of Melbourne in 1902: Bendigo, Gippsland and Wangaratta - and the CCCS made to each a grant from the beginning.⁽²⁾ But though spiritual distress was widespread and severe, no large amount of help was given at this time owing to the attention received by Canada. However, by 1907, there were signs not only of a revival of immigration here, but a growth of interest on the part of the Society's supporters.⁽³⁾ The policy now was to aid the development of the back-block parishes and clergy colleges.⁽⁴⁾ Back in 1903 the Bishop had suggested that the Society should undertake the training of clergy for the new Diocese of Wangaratta,⁽⁵⁾ and St. Columb's Hall was founded in that year.⁽⁶⁾ The system of training differed from the Saskatchewan Plan in that the students went to the districts from Thursday to Monday in each week, and the rest of the week was spent in study. By 1909 nine men had been ordained.⁽⁷⁾ The Sale Divinity School was established in the Gippsland Diocese, and the Society made a grant for the Principal of this pre-theological Hall to supply men for Ridley College, Melbourne, which had recently opened near the University for training Evangelicals for the ministry. A grant was also made to the Principal of Ridley College.⁽⁸⁾ Students were also supported in training for Bush work at the Moore College, Sydney.⁽⁹⁾

In July 1910 the Society established the Australia Special Fund to raise support for the back-blocks.⁽¹⁰⁾ But by 1913 the Committee felt that a more definite plan was needed than simply to aid the Bush Dioceses, and it proposed to form Evangelical Bush Missions.^(B) The three dioceses concerned welcomed this plan, but the outbreak of war in the following year caused delay in implementing this policy.⁽¹²⁾

In 1918 it was proposed to send the Secretary to inspect and report on the needs of the Bush,⁽¹³⁾ and a year later the 'Bush Church-Aid Society for Australia and Tasmania' was founded to rouse Evangelicals in Sydney, Melbourne and other large centres to the needs of the back-blocks of their own country. It would also train and support clergy, lay evangelists and women workers in the Bush areas. The Rev. S.J. Kirkby^(C) (Rector of Ryde, New South Wales) became its first Secretary.⁽¹⁴⁾

In New Zealand the Society made grants to the Dioceses of Waiapu (for work at Tauranga and Te Puke⁽¹⁵⁾) also at Rotorua among the

residents and tourists⁽¹⁾); Auckland (for Kati Kati⁽²⁾ and surrounding districts); Nelson (for Kaikowra and Cheviot districts⁽³⁾ and "The Sounds"⁽⁴⁾ - an indented coastline); and Wellington (for an immigrants reception hostel in Wellington).⁽⁵⁾

IV.6. Seamens Missions

Missions were reported during these years in the Dioceses of Mauritius, Sierre Leone, Victoria (Hong Kong), Calcutta, Gibraltar, and in Smyrna.⁽⁶⁾ The Rev. A. Rust (formerly sailors chaplain in Calcutta) suggested in 1878 that the Society assume the spiritual charge of sailors in all foreign ports, on account of its fitness as an Evangelical Society to minister to a class of men 'who cannot understand anything unreal. Ritualism is a thing which seamen can neither understand nor carry to sea - consequently is quite unsuitable.' Seamen were often confused by different 'types' of chaplain in port.⁽⁷⁾

IV.7. East Africa

A grant was made in 1901 to the Rev. P.A. Bennett at Nairobi (formerly of CMS Niger Mission) to work among the English and Indian employees of the Uganda Railway.⁽⁸⁾ Since an agent had not been found for Entebbe, a grant was also made to the CMS missionary who took services there for the English.⁽⁹⁾ Nairobi was not only the railway headquarters but also the inland capital of the East African Protectorate. Growth of industrial development led to an influx of white immigrants. A church was consecrated in Nairobi on 23 December 1905, and arrangements were also made for services in Masai Land and in the Fort Hall district.⁽¹⁰⁾ A second station was opened in 1906 at Parklands, Nairobi^(A) by the Rev. W. M. Falloon,⁽¹¹⁾ and the church was built in 1907.⁽¹²⁾ A year later the Society made a grant to the Bishop for the Kiamba district between Nairobi and the coast.⁽¹³⁾ Then in 1909 it was proposed to establish a centre on Lake Naivasha (west of Nairobi).⁽¹⁴⁾ A third chaplain (the Rev. E. Cobham) was sent in 1913 to occupy the district to the west of Nairobi. Nyanza became his base from which he visited Naivasa and Nakuru.⁽¹⁵⁾ In that year the Mombasa and Uganda Diocesan boundaries were recognized, and Kisumu was assigned to Mombasa.⁽¹⁶⁾

At the outbreak of war in 1914 settlers in the Protectorate mobilized to defend themselves against German invasion - the English and German colonies shared a common border. The Rev. E. Cobham and W. Plow (Kiambu) became unofficial chaplains to the troops.⁽¹⁷⁾ Cobham was eventually shot and killed while rescuing a wounded officer.⁽¹⁸⁾ At the close of war three clergy^(B) were sent to replace Cobham and to deal

with the extended immigration.⁽¹⁾

Entebbe (Uganda) was eighteen miles from the nearest missionary settlement, and on completion of the Uganda Railway from Mombasa it received an influx of British government officials, military officers and traders. The Society made a grant to the CMS missionary for work among them.⁽²⁾ Kisumu received a grant in 1910.⁽³⁾ In 1913 Entebbe returned the full grant and became independent, and the grant was transferred to another part-time CMS missionary for services in Kampala.⁽⁴⁾

After the battle of Omdurman the CMS sent the Rev. L.H. Gwynne to start mission work there, and, whilst learning Arabic, he worked among the English government officials who were waiting for Khartoum to be rebuilt. In 1904 the Rev. E.A. Paxton was sent out supported in part by the CCCS to assist Gwynne, and he took services in Halfa (the headquarters of the Government railway) and Suakim (the Red Sea railway terminus). The Government gave a site for a church in Khartoum, and by 1906 Atbara and Port Soudan both had churches of their own. A year later the Rev. A.M. Thom (CCCS) made more frequent visits to the outstations at Halfa, Suakim, and Um Nabardi. Khartoum was created a Suffragan Bishopric of the Diocese of Jerusalem in 1908 with Gwynne as the first Bishop. In the next four years services were extended to Wad Medani and El Obeid.⁽⁵⁾ Thom, on his own initiative, started regular ministry in arabic, among the Coptic christians of Port Soudan.⁽⁶⁾

The Boulac Mission in the 'port' of Cairo (Egypt) was established in 1882 when a chaplain was sent to the English locomotive engineers, drivers and fitters employed by the rialway.⁽⁷⁾ Sunday services were provided in a room in the centre of low class mohammedan life,⁽⁸⁾ and it was attached to All Saints', Cairo, which later became the Cathedral.⁽⁹⁾ A school was started and by 1889 it had a full-time teacher.⁽¹⁰⁾

IV.8. Foreign Operations

This was a period of unparalleled growth in the Continental - especially the seasonal - Chaplaincies,^(A) and with it came a proliferation of little 'missions'. A 'Mission Home and Christian Association for Young English Women in Paris' at 49 Avenue Wagram under Miss Leigh was begun in 1873 in connection with the British Embassy Church.⁽¹¹⁾ At Seville the Spanish work had spread to two other localities: Triana and San Bernardo, and the 'Spanish Evangelical Church Missionary Society' was born in 1875.⁽¹²⁾ The lay 'South-East Baltic Harbour Mission' based at Danzig was begun in 1897 at Meml among the seamen, and spread.⁽¹³⁾

From 1 January 1875 government aid was withdrawn from the Consular chaplaincies.⁽¹⁾ Before this became effective the Committee was alive to the opportunity this action afforded for extending aid, and on 11 November 1873 a letter was sent to the chaplains at Antwerp, Bordeaux, Ostend, Lisbon, Hamburg, Christiania (now Oslo) and Rotterdam asking whether the managers were willing to place them in connection with the Society when the withdrawal of the government grant became effective.⁽²⁾ In June 1874 a special Fund was set up to aid them,⁽³⁾ and Antwerp almost immediately responded.⁽⁴⁾ Rotterdam was aided three years later.^{(5)(A)} By 1880 the seasonal chaplaincies had so grown that they had become a source of income to the Society.⁽⁶⁾ The chairman of the General Committee attended the Continental Committee on 9 December 1879 and called attention to the financial position of the Society since Continental expenditure was tending to escalate. There were to be reductions in grants in Colonial and Continental spheres that year, and a sub-committee was appointed to re-organize the chaplaincies and to review what reductions could be made.^{(7)(B)}

There was considerable growth in church building during this period, and the Committee was conscious of the rights that ownership of property secured in relation to the chaplaincies.⁽⁸⁾ General funds could not be used for this purpose, and in 1877 the 'George Moore Fund' was set up to make advances for church building.⁽⁹⁾ In 1900 the 'European, British and Colonial Lands and Buildings Company, Ltd' was established and incorporated.⁽¹⁰⁾ Steps were then to be taken to register this land-holding Company in the capitals of Europe where the Society held property.⁽¹¹⁾ Rome, Paris and Berlin were specifically mentioned in the minutes.⁽¹²⁾ Twenty-nine of the churches in the Society's lists were built in this period alone.

The seasonal chaplains were en route for their stations in August 1914 when war broke out. The autumn and winter chaplaincies were cancelled,^(C) but all permanent chaplains in Belgium, Holland and northern France remained at their posts.⁽¹³⁾ In Brussels the Rev. H.S.T. Gahan ministered to Nurse Edith Cavell during her imprisonment and execution.⁽¹⁴⁾ The seasonal chaplaincies re-opened at the end of the war - in 1919 thirty were in operation,⁽¹⁵⁾ but the German and Austrian chaplaincies remained closed for a while.⁽¹⁶⁾

During this period there is evidence of a growing conflict with ritualism. Complaints were received in 1876 about the chaplain in Hamburg and his 'high church' practices;⁽¹⁷⁾ about the chaplain at Biarritz a year later who did not belong to the Evangelical party;⁽¹⁸⁾ and about a chaplain at Zermatt who had the assistance of a well-known ritualist.⁽¹⁹⁾ A letter was received from the Rev. W.H. Webb-Peploe (22 September 1877)^(D)

calling attention to the condition of the Continental chaplaincies and to secure the testing of candidates.⁽¹⁾ The Committee regretted the complaints and placed on record 'their firm resolve always to maintain the position hitherto held by the Society of sending out only such men as shall faithfully set forth the Gospel'.⁽²⁾ With regard to seasonal chaplains qualifying clauses were added to the Instructions,^{(3)(A)} and a sub-committee was appointed to examine applications and circularize privately leading Evangelical clergy to invite them to undertake duty in the important centres, and urging it as an important branch of missionary work.⁽⁴⁾ Later the chaplains list was drawn up in three classes of candidate.⁽⁵⁾ With regard to the permanent chaplaincies the Biarritz case^(B) decided the Committee to make appointments for an initial period of two years only. The Bishop of London (Jackson) was agreeable to this,⁽⁶⁾ but the question of his licence was the subject of a special Committee meeting on 27 April 1882. The Bishop had written (4 and 10 March) stating that limitation was not legal in England with respect to curates licences (with which he tried to assimilate the position of Continental chaplains). Any limitation would be binding for the period of issue, and a chaplain thus appointed could not be removed however imperfectly or objectionably he performed his duties. Under licence in the usual form the Committee could part with a chaplain after six months notice, and the Bishop would consider a chaplain's licence to become void on the expiration of six months notice given with his consent. The Committee resolved that the licences of permanent chaplains be made in accordance with these letters.⁽⁷⁾

Provision was made in 1879 for an annual inspection of chaplaincies and registers of baptism, marriage and burial were issued for use.⁽⁸⁾ The Society observed a bi-monthly rule for celebration of Holy Communion, except in the mountain stations where a weekly service was directed because of constantly changing congregations.⁽⁹⁾ By 1904 there had been a growth of 'after dinner' services on Sundays, taking the place of the afternoon service, at places like the Riffelalp, Grindelwald and Chandolin.⁽¹⁰⁾ Seasonal Chaplains Conferences began in that year to explain the opportunities and responsibilities of the work.⁽¹¹⁾ Two to three-day missions were conducted in selected permanent chaplaincies to raise the tone of spiritual life of the congregation.⁽¹²⁾

The General and Continental Committees were amalgamated on 11 March 1885, but a Continental sub-Committee continued to deal chiefly with appointments to seasonal work.^{(13)(C)}

The Society was instrumental in founding the second Anglican bishopric for Europe during these years. The SPG made efforts, between

1867-75) to found a separate See based on Heligoland, but this failed.^{(1)(A)}

The Bishop of London (Jackson) wrote in 1883 to a Continental chaplain

'For some years now I have been engaged...in endeavouring to provide a Bishop for north Europe; and as yet in vain. A see founded for the purpose in Heligoland or St. Helier (B) is refused; nor indeed is there any prospect of an endowment. The Government are also advised that a Bishop cannot have more than one Suffragan (C)...There remains the securing the help of a retired Colonial or missionary Bishop; but this many chaplains strongly object to.'⁽²⁾

As we have seen the need^(D) was certainly apparent for some episcopal supervision. English chaplaincies multiplied at the end of the Napoleonic wars, but the first confirmations recorded were those of Bishop Luscombe^(E) in Scottish Orders who was consecrated for work in Europe in 1825. His consecration was not as a diocesan but to meet a particular pastoral need, namely,

'to set in order the things that are wanting among such of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland and the Episcopal Church of Scotland and to these may be added any member of the Episcopal Church of America who may chance to be resident in Europe.'⁽³⁾

The experiment failed since few chaplains accepted his offer to confirm or his licence, and it was not repeated. After his death in 1846, Blomfield of London supplied confirmations^(F) through commissions as they were requested (actually there were few) and his successors followed his example.⁽⁴⁾

A circular was sent to the CCCS in 1875 to revive interest in the Heligoland scheme, but the Committee's view was that episcopal supervision would be best served by establishing a Suffragan for London. A copy of the reply to the circular was sent to the Bishop of London and the SPG.⁽⁵⁾ The Society called a conference on 10 September 1878 in its Committee room to consider the feasibility of this proposal. It was stated that London would welcome it. The Bishop of Huron, Canada (Isaac Hellmuth) was willing to resign Huron to undertake this charge. This course met with the approval of the Committee and it was resolved to raise £800 annually to finance it.⁽⁶⁾ Hellmuth himself said,

'that no time should be lost in establishing as far as possible such an episcopal supervision as will secure and extend the ministrations of our Church for English residents and visitors on the continent, and will be for the advantage of presenting the Church of England in its true aspect to the Continental Churches.'

The Committee offered £800 annually to the Bishop of London if he would choose the Bishop of Huron.⁽⁷⁾ But the matter was left in abeyance.⁽⁸⁾

In December 1881 the Society put forward a new proposal that the Bishop of Sodor and Man receive the commission with the Committee's support and funds.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop of London's reply this time was that the matter rested with Convocation. Huron offered again to move to a Continental chaplaincy and to take charge of the Society's chaplaincies, and he thought that London might then use him. But the Committee did not comment upon this.⁽²⁾ A letter was received from the Bishop of London (dated 30 January 1883) proposing to set up a committee with representatives of the CCCS and the SPG.⁽³⁾ In its reply the Committee stated that it would guarantee £300 annually for the Bishop of Sodor and Man.⁽⁴⁾ At this point in the development (December 1883) an alternative proposal for a separate bishopric at St. Helier was revived. This provoked a joint session of the General and Continental Committees which resolved to ask the Bishop of London to receive a deputation.⁽⁵⁾ There were 106 of the Society's chaplaincies in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London and the Deputation felt justified 'in expressing the hope that the opinions of those upon whom so great a responsibility devolves will have their due weight in determining any line of action which may be taken.' It expressed regret that action may break the connection with the Diocese of London^(A) and suggested the appointment of a bishop holding London's permanent commission for the purpose, for which the Society would offer practical co-operation.⁽⁶⁾ The Secretary had interviews with the Bishop of London and Bishop Titcomb on 24 January 1884, and the Committee moved that

'the Bishop of London be informed that the Committee take upon themselves the entire financial responsibility of Bishop Titcomb's remuneration and expenses connected with the Episcopal supervision of North and Central Europe provided the Bishop of London will assign him a permanent commission for this purpose.'⁽⁷⁾

The Bishop of London, accepting the Society's offer, wrote (21 January 1884) that he had given his commission to Bishop Titcomb^(B) (lately of Rangoon), and this was announced in 'The Times' newspaper on 6 February. He added that the appointment gave him great satisfaction, and that the new Bishop^(C) was welcomed at the SPG where he had created a favourable impression.⁽⁸⁾ Titcomb wrote to the Society on 22 June 1886 saying that 'it has been through the Society's generosity that the Bishopric has been really founded.'^{(9)(D)}

Titcomb pressed upon the Society the urgency of raising an endowment in conjunction with the SPG and the Americans,⁽¹⁰⁾ and suggested a central Fund committee with representatives of the two Societies proportional to the number of chaplains licensed.⁽¹¹⁾ A sub-committee of the two Societies met at the CCCS Office on 28 November, and resolved to form a central committee under the Presidency of the Bishop of London with

representatives of the CCCS (6), the SPG (3); and the independent chaplaincies (5) and Bishop Titcomb as an ex-officio member.⁽¹⁾

At this point the scheme was suspended owing to the death of the Bishop of London.⁽²⁾

However the new Bishop (Frederick Temple) approved the resolutions in June 1885,⁽³⁾ and the first meeting with the Bishop of London in the chair took place on 22 July.^{(4)(A)}

Titcomb indicated his intention to resign in December 1885,⁽⁵⁾ and a draft letter on his successor to the Bishop of London was approved in Committee in January 1886.⁽⁶⁾

Bishop Wilkinson^(B) (formerly of Zululand) received the commission in August that year.⁽⁷⁾

Bishop Bury (1911-26) formerly of Honduras^(C) spoke warmly of the Society and of the happy relations between it and its chaplains.⁽⁸⁾

Footnotes

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- A. Figures given by the Ven.WM Sinclair in the Society's annual sermon in 1892. (1891 Report, CCCS, p.31)
- B. The Emigration Office Returns for 1911 showed that 184,891 people went to Canada and 68,631 people went to Australia, and remarked that both were in excess of any previous year - and in the case of Australia, the figure was more than doubled. (1911 Report, CCCS, pp.39f)
- C. 21 Victoria, cap. 7, 1874
- D. 'The amount provided by the said Act, 21 Victoria cap.7, to be paid to the Newfoundland School Society (now known as the Colonial and Continental Church Society) shall be deducted from the appropriations hereby made to members of the Church of England in several educational districts where the said Society's schools were established.' (1873 Report, CCCS, p.93)

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- A. 14 male and 13 female. (1882 Report, CCCS, p.49)
- B. In 1905, of the 81 schools entered for the Bishop's prize, 10 were excellent: of these 5 were CCCS schools and the teachers of the other 5 were former students of CCCS schools. (1905 Report, CCCS, p.78)
- C. They had been built of wood between 40 and 50 years previously. (1884 Report, CCCS, p.51)
- D. In 1888, 15 males and 26 females were in training. (1888 Report, CCCS, p.56) It was vital because by training teachers from the out-harbours, the Society exercised a wide and far-reaching influence upon the whole country: the knowledge and moral character of the young depends in large measure upon the character and qualifications of their teachers. (1899 Report, CCCS, p.44)
- E. The buildings were not adequately covered by insurance and only £1,100 compensation was received, but three times that sum was needed to rebuild. (1892 Report, CCCS, pp.89f)

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- A. Cartwright was 500 miles from St John's. (1894 Report, CCCS, p.76) The Newfoundland and Quebec Labrador are separated by the Straits of Belle Isle: Newfoundland Labrador outside the Straits and Quebec inside. (1895 Report, CCCS, pp.40f)
- B. Teaching was conducted during the seven winter months. Dicks spent two to three weeks at each of seventeen settlements, though he visited thirty-one. In one year he conducted 85 services, completed 184 school days work and travelled 1,393 miles. During the three summer months he was stationed in Cartwright where he sought to establish a reading room and library. (1896 Report, CCCS, pp.85,87)
- C. Eskimo Tickle was the summer quarters of Chief Unalik. It was he who expressed his willingness to abandon his ways if Stewart went to live there. He requested baptism for his son. (1900 Report, CCCS, pp.85, 88)
- D. Blandford had begun to fish at the entrance of the Bay, and established himself there with two servants all the winter of 1899-1900. (1899 Report, CCCS, p.84)

- E. Mr Ford was a native of North Labrador who had attended the Central School in St John's, and who had acted as interpreter to a scientific expedition on that coast. (1900 Report, CCCS, p.80)
- F. Manak was the best hunter and to the best hunter was assigned the premier position with power nearly equal to the sorcerer, and, one by one, the brothers stepped into line. (1900 Report, CCCS, p.88)
- G. At the services hymns, prayers, lessons and address were in eskimo, and Stewart used the Rev.EJ Peck's translation of the Prayer Book (Peck was a CMS missionary who worked for 20 years north of Ungava). Stewart introduced 'Cree' characters, and most learned to read and write, and those who learnt quickly were appointed 'honorary' teachers. (1901 Report, CCCS, p.74)

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- A. This was reported to Committee on 11 April 1905, but the work was actually taken over by the Canadian Church on the formation of the Arctic Mission in 1927. (GBM 376, CCCS, Jan-Feb 1941, p.655)
- B. The Indians came in search of the white man when the fur trader entered the area, so that Fort Chimo became the rendez-vous of the Nascopee and Cree Indians. Having traded their furs they distributed themselves over the country for the winter hunt. (1907 Report, CCCS, p.84)
- C. Mr Hester was ordained in Newfoundland on 2 July 1911. (1911 Report, CCCS, p.68)

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- A. Matthew died of consumption in 1917. (1917 Report, CCCS, p.40)
- B. GE Lloyd was born in London in 1861, educated at Wycliffe College, Toronto (1881-5) and became Rector of Rothesay (1890-6). He resigned through ill-health and in 1901 became deputation Secretary of the CCCS and in 1903 chaplain to the 'Britannia' Colony. He became Archdeacon in 1905; Principal of Emmanuel College (1909-16) and Bishop of Saskatchewan (1922-31). (Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p.290)
- C. Lloyd wrote, 'The work of the Church in the future depends upon holding the boys of the day.' (1893 Report, CCCS, p.99)

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- A. Professor Hicks had retired in 1883. (1883 Report, CCCS, p.23)

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- A. A spirit of enquiry was awakened through emigration from France as a result of the Franco-Prussian war. **These** French Roman Catholic immigrants were more liberal than the French-Canadian Roman Catholics. (GBM, CCCS, 5 and 6, 1877)
- B. e.g. JJ Benny at Bishops College, Lennoxville Medical Faculty, MD and Valedictorian; AJ Duval, MDV at Laval University and the gold medal. (1895 Report, CCCS, p.56)
- C. LN Tucker was educated at Montreal Diocesan College and Bishops College, Lennoxville. He was Incumbent of the Eglise du Rédempteur, Montreal 1877-85, St George's, Montreal 1885-94, Christ Church, Vancouver 1894-1902. In 1902 he became the first General Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church (1902-11). (Crockford entry)

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- A. See 1873 Report, CCCS, p.42
- B. The Rev.HP Chase was the hereditary chief of the Ojibwas. (1886 Report, CCCS, p.28) He visited England on deputation in 1876. (1876 Report, CCCS, p.61)
- C. The Ojibwas were the original owners of the soil. The Munceys were settlers after the American Wars of Independence (they were British allies). The Rev.R Flood was the first missionary who ministered for 30 years, during which some were converted. Chase continued Flood's work until he retired at over 70 years of age. (1886 Report, CCCS, pp.27f)
- D. Canon Smith (letter dated 28 November 1892) wrote saying that the time had come for the diocese to relieve the Society from any further calls on its help. The last bill was to be drawn in January 1893. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 19 December 1893)

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- A. The Rev.Dr.Alfred Peache was the founder and benefactor of St John's Hall, Highbury afterwards the London College of Divinity and now St John's College, Nottingham. Dr Peache was priested in 1843, was made DD of the Western University in 1881 and became Chancellor in 1885. (Crockford entry)
- B. The Committee decided that it could not allow the setting aside of the declaration signed by every member to adhere to the Protestant and Evangelical principles of the Church of England, as provided on pages 4,4 and 5,9 of the Constitution. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 17 October 1905)

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- A. EF Wilson's son assumed charge in 1892. These homes contained 100 children from 8 tribes (Blackfoot, Cree, Chippeway, Salteaux, Ojibwas, Sioux and Delaware). (1894 Report, CCCS, p.92; 1896 Report, CCCS, p.97)

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- A. The Government was considering the 'Indian Education' question at the time, and expensive schools like those of the Society would probably be discouraged. (1908 Report, CCCS, p.101)

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- A. e.g. the case of a young man who walked 40 miles on a round trip in one day for a service, and a mother with a child on her back who walked 6 miles in the snow. (1891 Report, CCCS, p.98)
- B. The order of building was log-cabin, school house and church. (1904 Report, CCCS, p.122)
- C. St John's College was opened in 1866. (1871 Report, CCCS, p.105) It was incorporated by Act of Parliament, and the Cathedral Canons were its Professors of Theology. The Cathedral and College staff and students ministered to congregations for 30 miles around Winnipeg. (GBM, CCCS, 15, 1878, p.8)
- D. John McLean was born in 1828, graduated from the University of Aberdeen in 1851 where he met Robert Machray (later Archbishop of Rupertsland) in 1847. He wrote to Machray in 1858 that he would seek Holy Orders, and Hellmuth invited him to Canada where he was priested in that year and became curate of St Paul's Cathedral, London (Ontario). In 1865 he became warden of St John's College, Winnipeg and in 1874 was elected first Bishop of Saskatchewan. (Boon, op cit, pp.153f)

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- A. Dr J McLean applied to the Society as an ordinand for Huron in 1858. See p.100, note D.
- B. Bishop McLean and the Rev. JA Mackay were present when plans were formed at a church council meeting at Sandy Lake in the Shell River Valley - to create a training school for Indian teachers and catechists in 1875. Four years lapsed before McLean could establish the school, with himself as warden and Mackay as tutor in Cree. This venture - the nucleus of Emmanuel College - was successful until McLean died in 1886 when it became an Indian industrial school. Bishop Newnham revived the Charter (taken out by McLean) in 1907, largely owing to the enterprise of GE Lloyd. The Diocesan Synod had resolved in 1905 to revive Emmanuel College in Prince Albert and offer classes from January to April to train teachers, lay-readers, catechists and deacons. When the Saskatchewan Provincial University was set up in 1909, Emmanuel College removed to the Provincial University site in Saskatoon and became affiliated, becoming its Faculty of Theology. It was subsequently known as the 'University of Emmanuel College' and in 1964 (when St Chad's College was amalgamated with it) the 'University of Emmanuel College and St Chad'. The College has a line of distinguished Principals and other members of staff:
- Bishop Newnham (1907-9)
 GE Lloyd (1909-16), Bishop of Saskatchewan 1922-31.
 JN Carpenter (1916-22)
 WTT Hallam (1922-27), formerly Professor at Wycliffe College, Toronto 1908-22, Bishop of Saskatchewan/Saskatoon 1931-49.
 RHA Haslam (1927-37) and Archdeacon of Saskatoon from 1929.
 WA Ferguson (1937-41), then Principal of Montreal Diocesan College.
 SC Steer (1941-50), former student of Emmanuel College, Vice-Principal of the London College of Divinity (1931-41, elected Bishop of Saskatoon in 1950 and holds office.
 RS Dean (1950-6), formerly Vice-Principal of the London College of Divinity, afterwards elected Bishop of Cariboo and holds office. He was Executive Officer of the Anglican Communion 1964-9.
 FHW Crabb (1957-67), Vice-Principal of the London College of Divinity 1951-7.
 JDF Beattie (appointed 1968), Professor and Vice-Principal of Emmanuel College 1945-64.
- Two other members of staff are especially worth noting:
 FH Wilkinson (1925-28), who became Bishop of Toronto in 1955 and holds office.
 WF Barfoot (1926-34), Warden of St John's College, Winnipeg 1935-41, Bishop of Edmonton 1941-53, Primate of All Canada 1951 and Metropolitan of Rupertsland 1953-60.
 (Boon, op cit, pp.161-3, 293, 300)
- C. The College course appeared to consist of instruction in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Sioux, Cree, Mathematics, Logic, The Articles, The Evidences, Ecclesiastical History, Prayer Book and Bible. (1881 Report, CCCS, p.57)
- D. There were 12 Missionary students (4 Cree, 1 half-breed Cree, 1 Sioux, 6 of Canadian or English parentage) training to be teachers, catechists or clergy; and 18 others. (1882 Report, CCCS, p.60)

- E. The first meeting of the Senate was held on 3 December 1884. (GBM, CCCS, 446, July-Sept. 1954, p.9)
- F. In 1885, GE Lloyd (then a Wycliffe College student) was wounded in an engagement with the Indians at Pound Makers Reserve during the Riel Rebellion. (GBM, CCCS, 245, July 1920, pp.79f) See p.67 and p.76 and following.

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- A. In 1902 the Rev. IM Barr asked for English Immigrants to match the number of 'foreigners', and Lloyd sent his letter to the 'Times'. (GBM, CCCS, 95, Dec. 1906, pp.178-82) Barr was born in Canada and attended Huron College. He was priested in 1871 by Dr Hellmuth and spent a year in Prince Albert in 1875 before returning east. (Boon, op cit, p.291n)
- B. His famous phrase, 'We have not come all this way to quit' is inscribed on his memorial cairn in Lloydminster. (GBM, CCCS, 443, Oct-Dec. 1953, p.7)

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- A. These churches were 14' x 20' and would seat 30-40 people. (1903 Report, CCCS, p.125)
- B. The colony was larger than Yorkshire. (1904 Report, CCCS, p.46) In three years ending 30 June 1905, 157,000 British emigrants settled in the North-West Territories, and this rose to 404,000 if Americans and Continentals were included. In 1905 the Canadian Pacific Railway opened up 50 new stations in Saskatchewan alone. (1905 Report, CCCS, p.45) In three and one half years there were 35 centres of worship. (1905 Report, CCCS, p.129)
- C. The Saskatchewan Plan was to divide the catechists into sets which spent 3 months alternately in College in Prince Albert and in the field. (1907 Report, CCCS, p.40) The old wooden Church of St Alban in Prince Albert was used as a lecture room. Bishop Newnham was principal. (GBM, CCCS, 209, April 1917, pp.43f) Lloyd lectured in Systematic Theology and the Revs J Tuckey and HS Broadbent joined the staff. (1909 Report, CCCS, p.120) These alternating periods were repeated annually until the candidates reached ordination standard. (1907 Report, CCCS, p.129)
- D. They were to be given 2 blankets, a ground-sheet, porridge pot, tea-billy, pony and mexican saddle for their itinerant. (GBM, CCCS, 95, Dec. 1906, quoting Lloyd's speech at the Exeter Hall Meeting)
- E. 50 in Saskatchewan, 2 in Calgary, 2 in Qu'Appelle, 1 in Rupertsland, 1 in Keewatin. (1907 Report, CCCS, p.41)

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- A. In 1908-9 the CCCS received £10,258 from the Pan-Anglican Thankoffering for North-West Canada and in 1910 £5,639 was received from the Arch-bishops' Appeal. (1910 Report, CCCS, p.37)
- B. The Diocesan Synod decided on affiliation to the Provincial University in September 1909. The title 'catechist' then disappeared, and men became known as 'divinity students' who spent the major portion of their time in College. Those who failed to reach matriculation standard remained as lay-evangelists. The Provincial University followed the Scottish system of one long session during the winter followed by a long summer vacation, which enabled the missions to be staffed in the summer months. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 18 January 1910; GBM, CCCS, 210, May 1917, pp.65f) The term closed in Prince

Albert on 15 September 1909, and a new term had to begin in Saskatoon ten days later ! A shack was moved up from the other end of the town and used as a dining room, and a cook's room was built on to it. A disused Government land office was borrowed as a dormitory, and a shack was built for the Dean in Residence and Lloyd. (1909 Report, CCCS, pp.120-2)

- C. The course comprised Systematic Theology (Lloyd); Bible, Liturgy, Pastoral Theology (HS Broadbent); Church History (DS Schorfield); Apologetics (Dewdney); and all candidates took courses in English, History and Philosophy in the University. (1909 Report, CCCS, p.123)
- D. The Society guaranteed £600 annually for 5 years for two chairs. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 16 November 1909)
- E. Dr Paterson-Smyth of Montreal wrote in the 'Canadian Churchman' on 15 September 1910, 'I was very pleasantly impressed with the result...of their three years of mixing with rough, plain, bedrock men. They were man's men...the sort of men that men would like to talk to. I see all the defects...They are, perhaps, being brought up in a narrower school of theology than is good for them...but...in the lonely prairie regions, it is men that count.' (1910 Report, CCCS, p.109) Paterson-Smyth was vicar of St Anne's and Professor of Pastoral Theology at Trinity College, Dublin 1902-7; rector of St George's, Montreal 1907-14 and Archdeacon of St Andrew's (Montreal) 1914-24. (Crockford entry)
- F. Griffith-Thomas remarked in a private letter, 'No-one need have any hesitation about them and their fitness for clerical life and work in Canada.' (1911 Report, CCCS, p.42) Griffith-Thomas was vicar of St Paul's, Portman Square, London 1895-1905; Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford 1905-10 and Professor of Systematic Theology at Wycliffe College, Toronto 1910-19. (Crockford entry)
- G. The College was situated in the centre of the Prairies at a point from which the railways radiated. (1913 Report, CCCS, p.40)
- H. The conditions were: the maintenance of adequate permanent and visiting staff; accommodation for a student body of 50; the calendar and standards were to be kept to those of the General Synod's Board for conferring degrees; acceptance of the Bishop's and Board's candidates if fees were guaranteed; and inter-diocesan support including Athabasca, Edmonton, Calgary, Qu'Appelle and Yukon. (1913 Report, CCCS, p.120)
- I. 20% of the clergy and 83% of the students enlisted. (1917 Report, CCCS, pp.38f) The buildings were used as a hospital. (1918 Report, CCCS, p.36)

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- A. Approved by the Colonial sub-committee on 4 January 1916 and confirmed by the General Committee on 18 January.
- B. Lloyd therefore created the 'Fellowship of the Maple Leaf' as an organization intended to supply public school boys as teachers in Prairie schools. (GBM 376, CCCS, Jan-Feb.1941, pp.652f)
- C. When names and ages of children were sent to the Superintendent of Sunday School by Post, a letter of welcome was mailed to parents enclosing certificates of membership, catechisms, envelopes for marks and offerings, small reward cards for learning the catechism. The lesson papers and picture cards were mailed monthly or quarterly for parents to distribute weekly. A quarterly circular was sent to each family with the renewal envelopes. Rewards of books, dolls etc. were made annually at the end of the year. (1911 Report, CCCS, p.137)

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- A. Single men lived in community and went out for missionary journeys. They returned for companionship and prayer. (1905 Report, CCCS, p.196) This was an economical system which ensured continuity of ministry for the people, and safeguarded the missionaries from breakdown in health resulting from isolation. (1906 Report, CCCS, p.206)

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- A. He covered 6,020 miles on horseback in 14 months (April 1913-June 1914) visiting every corner, holding services in every place, including the roadside camps. (1914 Report, CCCS, pp.186f)
- B. The Archbishop of Sydney (JC Wright) interviewed the Committee on 20 May 1913 and stated that, 'Evangelicals had started with a distinct advantage in Australia, but had lost their position and...this might be regained by the Society placing Evangelicals in certain dioceses (since clergy and laity elect their bishop)...grants had recently been mis-placed (to ritualists) because they had been made to places and not men !' The Archbishop suggested making a start with Evangelical Bush Brotherhoods in the Riverina and Bathurst Dioceses. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 20 May 1913) The Secretary and members of the Australian CMS were to be invited individually to become Secretary and members of a CCCS Corresponding Committee to advise the parent Society about present grants, openings for new work, and applications for future grants; to collect, hold or administer moneys on behalf of the CCCS; and make suggestions as to the future relations between themselves and the parent Committee. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 15 July 1913)
- C. SJ Kirkby (1879-1935) was educated at Moore Theological College, Sydney and was priested in 1906. He became rector of St Anne's, Ryde, Sydney 1914-20 then Organizing Missioner of the BC-AS 1920-32 and was Archdeacon of Camden 1931-3. He was consecrated co-adjutor Bishop of Sydney in 1932. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.19, p.897)

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- A. A residential suburb of Nairobi. Services were held in a private house. (1906 Report, CCCS, pp.62,64)
- B. The Revs OH Knight, AM Thom, JB Brandrum. (1919 Report, CCCS, p.37)

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- A. The Society's Report to the Archbishop of Canterbury prior to the 1877 meeting of the Continental Committee of the Lambeth Conference stated that the Society had 48 permanent and 80 seasonal chaplaincies on its list compared with the SPG's 14 permanent and 37 seasonal chaplaincies. (1877 Report, CCCS, pp.135-7) By 1913 the CCCS had 39 permanent and 160 seasonal chaplaincies on its list. (1913 Report, CCCS, p.26; 1914 Report, CCCS, p.35)

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- A. Dunkerque and Christiania (Oslo) were aided in 1875. (1875 Report, CCCS, p.6)
- B. The sub-committee met on 9 December 1879 and its report is recorded in the minutes of the Continental Committee of 7 January 1880. No reductions were to be made to permanent chaplaincies (colonies of English people in industrial areas), but some suspensions or amalgamations were recommended for the seasonal chaplaincies. Also reductions in fees were recommended, and hoteliers were to be circularized for free or reduced terms for chaplains, and chaplains were to be asked to raise the offerings.

- C. In 1915 there were only 6 functioning and by 1918 only Lucerne. (1915 Report, CCCS, p.29; 1918 Report, CCCS, p.30)
- D. This was a printed private letter to the Chairman signed by Webb-Peploe and others. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 2 January 1889) It concerned the Evangelical emphasis of the Society. (see ch.VI.1.2)

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- A. e.g. 'The principles of the C & CCS [sic] being those of the Protestant and Reformed Church of England, it is taken for granted that your application has been made with a distinct knowledge of this fact.' (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 6 February 1889) 'The Society requires all chaplains to take the north side at the celebration of the Holy Communion. Are you prepared to do so?' (Min.Continental sub-committee CCCS, 3 February 1903)
- B. The chaplain claimed that he had made the position clear to the Secretary (Moran) who counter-claimed that the high-church tendencies were not made clear, and that his testimonials were in order. (Min. Continental Committee, CCCS, 16 October 1877)
- C. This sub-committee's minutes are available for the period from 26 October 1900-12 November 1909.

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- A. It was not favoured by the Government. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 7 February 1883) Heligoland was chosen because it was small, like Gibraltar, but subject to the British Crown. (Colonial Church Chronicle, 1870, pp.478f) It was thought that from this point a good influence could be exerted on the Old Catholics, the Russian Orthodox Church and the Scandinavian Episcopal Churches. (ibid, 1874, pp.418f)
- B. The St Hellier scheme was referred to in the CCCS General Minutes for 21 November 1883, and led to a deputation with a Memorial to the Bishop of London. This is appended to the General Minutes of the CCCS for 11 December 1883.
- C. A Suffragan Bishop for London to be consecrated for Europe would need a special Act of Parliament, since the Act of Henry VIII (26 Henry VIII cap.14) referred only to England. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 7 February 1883) Though the CCCS Committee had received the suggestion of the Heligoland scheme more than once, it favoured the scheme of a Suffragan for London. (Report of the CCCS Committee to the Continental Committee of the Lambeth Conference printed in 1877 Report, pp.135-7)
- D. Jackson wrote that the Order in Council given to Laud was given to restrain certain chaplains associated with a Baltic Trading Company from Puritan practices, and that there was no case of Bishop Juxon confirming abroad. The Civil war and Continental wars after the Restoration followed by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars severed England's connection with the Continent, and effaced the need of jurisdiction. (GBM, CCCS, 331, July-Aug.1933, pp.65-8)
- E. MHT Luscombe, whilst schoolmaster and chaplain in Caen in Normandy, was concerned about the lack of episcopal supervision. Through the Rev.WF Hook (later Dean of Chichester) and with the tacit consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, and Peel and Canning, he secured consecration in 1825 by the Scottish bishops. He took up residence in Paris and was appointed Embassy chaplain in 1828. In 1834 he erected the church in the Rue D'Aguesseau. He died in 1846. (GBM, CCCS, 331, July-Aug.1933, pp.65-8)

- F. The Society received a letter from the Rev. and Hon A Percival (dated 4 January 1853) stating the anxiety of the English congregations for confirmation, and applying for expenses for a bishop's tour - the Bishop of London was willing if expenses could be found, (Min. 4,947, CCSS, 18 January 1853) The Bishop of London later suggested to the SPG that they make some provision for such confirmation tours. (Colonial Church Chronicle, 1864, p.202)

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- A. Three reasons were given: convenient proximity to the Foreign Office and the Religious Societies; the prestige of the Bishop of London's licence in relation to authorities abroad; and the maintenance of closer union with the home Church which served the interests of both chaplain and people. (Memorial to the Bishop of London appended to the Minutes of the Continental Committee of the CCOS, 11 December 1883)
- B. JH Titcomb (1819-87) was ordained in 1842 and from 1877-82 was first Bishop of Rangoon and retired through ill-health. He was appointed co-adjutor Bishop to the Bishop of London for North and Central Europe 1884-6. (Dict.Nat.Biog, vol.19, p.897)
- C. Titcomb's first confirmation tour was in April 1884. (GBM, CCCS, 331, July-Aug.1933, pp.65-8)
- D. A complete list of successive Bishops is given in Appendix F.

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- A. By the time of the North and Central Europe chaplains Conference in 1913 the endowment had reached £11,000. The target was £25,000. (1913 Report, CCCS, pp.225)
- B. Bishop Wilkinson (1886-1911) was also vicar of St Catherine's, Coleman Street - a living he held till his death in 1911. (GBM, CCCS, 331, July-Aug.1933, pp.65-8)
- C. Bishop Bury (1911-26) was at first vicar of St Catherine's, Coleman Street, but later moved to St Peter, Vere Street, and later still to St Anne and St Agnes with St John Zachary. (GBM, CCCS, 331, July-Aug.1933, pp.65-8)

V. THE COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY, 1919-51

V.1. Newfoundland and Canada

Immigration revived after the war, and continued unemployment in England induced large numbers to emigrate to Canada inspite of reports of unemployment there.⁽¹⁾ Athabasca and Caledonia were now to receive the influx of settlers.⁽²⁾ In 1924 a delegation from Canada came to confer with officials of the Church Assembly and the English Societies on the emigration question but with special reference to the distribution of church families. The Church Assembly's Council for Overseas Settlement was then formed. Bishop G.E. Lloyd came to England to direct some of the stream of settlers to vacant areas in his diocese.^{(3)(A)} It was estimated that Canada needed 200 clergy - but it was likely that only a fraction of this number would materialize.⁽⁴⁾ The fifth Report of the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly emphasized that Western Canada could not meet the needs of its own people: the young churches would be dependent for many years to come on agents and finance supplied by the Church at home.⁽⁵⁾ But the world depression in trade in the 1930s affected the Churches whose resources were dependent on the ability of their members to give, and the Society faced financial stringency and its work declined.⁽⁶⁾ Severe financial distress retarded progress in the older settlements towards self-support, and this made it more difficult to finance expansion in the pioneer areas.⁽⁷⁾

V.1.1. Newfoundland

The question of the future of the Central Schools in St. John's was left in abeyance during the 1914-18 war. A temporary arrangement was made with the Church of England Superintendent of Education for a grant to operate the schools.⁽⁸⁾ But in 1920 the Society grant was reduced by £500,^{(9)(B)} and its aid confined to the poorer outport schools. This withdrawal was a loss because the teachers were also church workers by the terms of their contract and in accordance with the Society's principles. The Society had been the 'nursing mother' of the Church in Newfoundland.⁽¹⁰⁾ Two years later it was decided to withdraw entirely from the outport schools but to continue to support the Central Schools because the Superintendent of Education had government money to supplement the Society's income there. In the case of the outport schools the Government's and the Society's sources were interdependent. The retirement from the outports became effective from 30 June 1922, and the schools were then operated by the Government.⁽¹¹⁾ The grant to the Central Schools was withdrawn five years later.⁽¹²⁾

S.M. Stewart was by now the senior missionary of the Church among the Esquimaux. Since Hestor left for the MacKenzie River Diocese the Society had been looking for an assistant to assume leadership on Stewart's retirement. Meanwhile he had the help of three native catechists.⁽¹⁾ In 1926 the 'Arctic Mission' was created under the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church,⁽²⁾ and in the light of this some discussion took place with Stewart about the future of his work.⁽³⁾ 'Stewart of Ungava' retired^(A) in 1929 after thirty years in the field,⁽⁴⁾ during which practically the whole of the Esquimaux became at least nominally christian. The race produced many fine christians, and some competent lay-readers to take charge during the absence of their white missionary.⁽⁵⁾ The Rev. F.H. Gibbs, who had seen service in Port Harrison in the Arctic⁽⁶⁾ succeeded Stewart;⁽⁷⁾ but he had to retire through ill-health in 1933.⁽⁸⁾ The Rev. and Mrs. G. Gillespie left Toronto for Fort Chimo in 1934,⁽⁹⁾ but Mrs. Gillespie's health forced them to retire from the work too within a year. A Wycliffe College student (R.W. Wenham) sailed in 1936 for the Arctic.⁽¹⁰⁾ When the Diocese of the Arctic was inaugurated in 1933, the Society's work was transferred to that jurisdiction.⁽¹¹⁾ Financial aid continued throughout the period.

V.1.2. The Eastern Provinces

Only a few links remained after the withdrawal of aid. In Frederickton the grant was used entirely in maintaining summer pioneer student missions.⁽¹²⁾ By now only a small annual subscription was given to the Sabrevois work in Montreal,⁽¹³⁾ and the last grant to this was resigned in 1924⁽¹⁴⁾ - though the Rev. H.E. Benoît continued to receive a grant for colportage work.⁽¹⁵⁾ Benoît died in 1931 after thirty years in the mission,⁽¹⁶⁾ and the Rev. V.A. Rahard succeeded him as pastor of the Eglise du Rédempteur.⁽¹⁷⁾ The Society continued to hold a Trust Fund for this church.⁽¹⁸⁾

Certain rights and responsibilities were maintained in connection with Huron College, and plans were laid for extension and development in 1937.⁽¹⁹⁾ By 1950 though, the Society had long since withdrawn from Eastern Canada, and its remaining link with the College was in the appointment of the Principal.⁽²⁰⁾

After the First World War the management of the Indian Homes at Sault Ste. Marie were transferred to the Missionary Society of the Church of Canada.⁽²¹⁾

V.1.3. The Prairie Provinces

In March 1921 G.E. Lloyd was consecrated third Bishop of Saskatch-

ewan⁽¹⁾ and a reconciliation seems to have taken place between the Bishop and the Society.^(A) Eighty missions in his diocese were vacant, though some were filled in the summer months by Emmanuel College students. In view of the need, the Bishop appointed deaconesses^(B) as pastors (to perform the same functions as male deacons).⁽²⁾ After the war there had been a lack of really suitable candidates for the ministry, and the prospect of 100 men^(C) now seemed remote.⁽³⁾ But it was in 1922 that D.B. Marsh and S.C. Steer, both of whom eventually became bishops of the Canadian Church, were accepted for training in Emmanuel College.⁽⁴⁾ The Bishop organized church services through local committees of workers, each responsible for a part of the service as a temporary solution to the problem.^{(5)(D)}

Saskatchewan was the key to Western Canada, and the trend in the pattern of settlement was northward - as agricultural science enabled wheat ripening in the shorter seasons.⁽⁶⁾ Settlement in the area north of Prince Albert was reported in 1924^(E) and, after a survey of the area, the Bishop planned eleven new missions. However owing to the shortage of men only three were filled.⁽⁷⁾ A year later fifty-four areas^(F) were reported where work could be established if men and funds were forthcoming. With this in mind, the Bishop, in consultation with the Committee, established the Saskatchewan Diocesan Association with headquarters in Church House, Westminster, London, England. Twelve Emmanuel College men were ordained in 1925 - the largest single number for many years.⁽⁸⁾

At this time the diocesan boundaries were adjusted, and the territory in the Province of Alberta was transferred to the Diocese of Edmonton. The Diocese of Saskatchewan was also provisionally divided into two Sees centred on Prince Albert in the north and Saskatoon in the south, and these became two Archdeaconries. The Bishop sought catechists for the pioneer north, and established a training school (Bishop's College) in Prince Albert with an eye to the future division of the diocese.⁽⁹⁾ The Rev. Canon McKim was appointed General Missioner to travel round the lay missions and to encourage self-support through the Duplex envelope scheme.⁽¹⁰⁾ Whilst the southern archdeaconry was well on its way to self-support, the north made new calls on resources, and the Society issued a new appeal for £10,000 for North-West Canada.⁽¹¹⁾ Support was proposed for the mining belt centred on Flin Flon, the railway belt of two-hundred miles of the Hudson's Bay Railway, and the mining area fifty miles north of Flin Flon. This was the more urgent because the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church had reduced its grant by \$8,000 for the three years 1928-30.⁽¹²⁾ Two archdeacons were appointed in 1928: Principal Haslam in Saskatoon and Canon Burd in Prince Albert⁽¹³⁾. In the north the Bishop was striving

for a permanent organization by establishing regular and recognized weekly services in permanent buildings.⁽¹⁾

In 1930 Lloyd announced his impending resignation and the proposed division of the diocese was discussed again.^{(2)(A)} In 1931 Dr. Hallam was elected Bishop of Saskatchewan.⁽³⁾ A year later an anonymous gift of \$80,000 (to commemorate Lloyd's work) enabled the diocese to be divided, and Archdeacon Burd^(B) was elected Bishop of the new Diocese of Saskatchewan. Bishop Hallam took the title 'Saskatoon'.⁽⁴⁾ From 1931 an additional burden was laid upon the Church in the new diocese by a continuous migration into it of settlers from the drought areas in the Saskatoon Diocese.⁽⁵⁾ The years of drought and poverty took their toll of the Prairie dioceses, and in 1938 the Primate of Canada appealed for help to relieve the financial pressures on them. The Society guaranteed the stipends of some of the clergy for the last quarter of that year.⁽⁶⁾

Principal G.F. Trench with the Rev. L.C. Hopkins returned to Emmanuel College in 1919 to re-open the buildings. Eighteen students came into residence, including three new recruits,⁽⁷⁾ and a special 'returned soldiers' syllabus was begun.⁽⁸⁾ A year later Trench resigned, and all those who had begun their training prior to the war had graduated and been ordained.⁽⁹⁾ The Society sent nine candidates to the College in 1921,⁽¹⁰⁾ and this number rose until thirty-two out of the capacity of forty (1926) candidates were in residence.⁽¹¹⁾ By 1927 the Society was being urged by the local Board of Governors to extend the buildings and raise the number of men in training,^(C) since many dioceses were looking to the College to supply their need of clergy.⁽¹²⁾ Forty-four men were in residence that year and men were ordained for work in the dioceses of Keewatin, Qu'Appelle, Calgary, Yukon and Edmonton as well as Saskatoon. Two years later (in its Jubilee year) a scheme was drawn up for extension.⁽¹³⁾

Since the end of the war its men had provided student-missioners for a number of western dioceses^(D) touring in mission vans.⁽¹⁴⁾ In 1934 the College received two full-blooded Indians and two sons of former graduates for training.⁽¹⁵⁾ War service between 1939-45 restricted entrants again - twenty-two of its men enlisted.⁽¹⁶⁾ The University and the Royal Canadian Airforce used the College chapel for the duration of war.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1945 it was decided to complete the buildings incorporating the 'Bishop Lloyd Memorial Chapel'.⁽¹⁸⁾ The conscription Act and transport problems proved temporary obstacles to the renewal of entrants from England.⁽¹⁹⁾ Principal Steer was elected Bishop of Saskatoon in 1950, and the Rev. R.S. Dean^(E) (Vice-Principal of the London College of Divinity) succeeded him.⁽²⁰⁾

Sunday School by Post lessons were despatched to 2,000 children in 1919,⁽¹⁾ and a travelling library circulated the diocese.⁽²⁾ Two years later Miss Henly visited the untouched areas in north Saskatchewan by motor van^(A) and the number of children reached through the Sunday School by Post doubled.⁽³⁾ By 1923, 5,000 members had been enrolled, and Miss Aileen Macmillan^(B) helped with the cradle roll, and Miss Godley undertook confirmation preparation by post. In that year two members entered a missionary training College.⁽⁴⁾ A home was made for the expanding Sunday School by Post in the new buildings of the Teachers Hostel in 1924.⁽⁵⁾ In 1929 the work came of age,^(C) and, since over 1,100 children had been added to the lists through van visitation, it was proposed to mark the occasion by commissioning a second van;⁽⁶⁾ but in the event two additional vans were put to work among a membership of 9,000.⁽⁷⁾ A year later adult study courses were added to the programme.^{(8)(D)} The Sunday School by Post handled more mail (15,000 packets monthly) than any sub-post office in the city of Saskatoon!⁽⁹⁾ The Religious Tract Society's 'home leaflets' were used for the primary grade, but the lessons for the middle grade were written by the Sunday School by Post workers.⁽¹⁰⁾ By 1935, 11,000 members had been enrolled.⁽¹¹⁾ On the division of the diocese, a branch office was established at Prince Albert under Miss Whelpley.⁽¹²⁾ The 1941 Report described the Sunday School by Post as 'one of the Church's most striking missionary activities among the youth of Western Canada.' The vans toured in the summer months to alleviate the shortage of clergy.⁽¹³⁾ In that year reference was made to teaching by question and answer, and lessons were sent to the head office monthly for correction.^(E) In 1947 the Canadian Sunday School by Post began supporting its Australian 'daughter' - the 'Mail-bag Sunday School'.⁽¹⁴⁾

The Saskatoon Teachers Hostel had to be extended after the 1914-18 war because it was filled to capacity with teachers in the Prairie schools.^{(15)(F)} New buildings were completed in 1924,⁽¹⁶⁾ but within a decade the numbers dropped off because of a fall in demand for teachers, and students in training sought a cheaper mode of living.⁽¹⁷⁾ Then in 1934 the Society revived its bursary scheme for clergy daughters at the Collegiate School, Saskatoon, and four girls resided in the hostel.⁽¹⁸⁾ In the years that followed it was used more fully by girls attending the Collegiate and Normal Schools and the University.⁽¹⁹⁾ But in 1942 there were only nine residents and it was closed for the duration of war, though it continued to be used as the Sunday School by Post headquarters.⁽²⁰⁾

G.E. Lloyd converted the bishop's house in Prince Albert into a hostel (St. George's College) in 1922 for boys attending the High School, and placed the Rev. A.E. Minchin in charge.⁽¹⁾ He began summer canvas camps in the following year when he divided the diocese into seven districts roughly synonymous with the rural deaneries, and a site was chosen in each. Minchin travelled from camp to camp. These were organized like the church camps in England with drill, tent inspection and sports' day and educational features like Bible studies and health talks. Monthly follow-up circulars called 'Camp-fire Talks' were sent out and boys joined the 'Church Camp Corps'. The aim was to help boys to link up real enjoyment and true manliness with thorough Churchmanship.⁽²⁾

V.1.4. The Far Western Provinces

Repatriated soldiers flooded into the Peace River country of British Columbia after the armistice of 1919. The Rev. J.H. Kerr was the first to begin work in this area of 400,000 square miles, and he erected a church.⁽³⁾ The Society became responsible for the Pouce Coupé^(A) area⁽⁴⁾ with a population of 2-3,000 adults and some 600 children.⁽⁵⁾ Work expanded so that by 1929 the Rev. D.T. Proctor became Superintendent Missioner with centres at Sunset Prairie, Progress, Dawson Creek, Kilkerran, Rolla and North Swan Lake. The mission needed four men whose parishes would equal the size of an English diocese. There were seven centres north of the Peace River as yet untouched.⁽⁶⁾ Two years later there were six churches and three ordained men in the region.⁽⁷⁾ With the opening of the church in Pouce Coupé on 11 September 1932, the CCCS could fairly claim to 'have laid the foundation of what will one day be a new diocese.'⁽⁸⁾^(B) During the four years of Proctor's leadership seven churches and halls had been erected with thirty centres of regular worship and twenty-six Sunday Schools. There were additional centres for mid-week Sunday schools and occasional services.⁽⁹⁾ By 1936 all the churches that were built were out of debt (in a time of depression!),⁽¹⁰⁾ and three years later the original parish was divided into three including one for central European refugees.⁽¹¹⁾

In 1919 St. Mark's Hall, Vancouver was amalgamated with Latimer Hall with Vance as Principal of the United College.⁽¹²⁾

The effect of the long years of drought and poverty, the chain of ordained workers who went into war service or who transferred, the dwindling numbers of ordinands and the economic pressures of the 1930s led to the abandonment of some and the amalgamation of other missions.⁽¹³⁾ The Canadian Church raised \$60,000 relief to the English Societies, and

the CCCS was relieved of fifty percent of its grants to Canadian dioceses in 1941 and 2.⁽¹⁾ The conclusion to the war in 1945 brought back some clergy to relieve the situation, but the call for additional workers was insistent.⁽²⁾ By 1947 grants were made to thirty parishes in ten dioceses but the question of future support for Canada had to be reviewed because of currency restrictions to non-sterling countries, and the willingness of the Canadian Church to assume responsibility for missionary effort within the Dominion. A consultation was held with the Canadian bishops at Lambeth in 1948.⁽³⁾ Britain's financial condition improved during 1948, but it suffered a relapse in 1949 and high taxation caused the curtailment of grants.⁽⁴⁾ By 1950 the Missionary Society of the Canadian Church had assumed responsibility for most of the grants hitherto made by the Society.⁽⁵⁾

V.2. Australia

As far back as 1914 the Archbishop of Sydney had advocated the formation of a Bush Missionary Society^(A) but owing to the Great War the matter lay dormant. However a meeting was held on 26 May 1919 in St. Andrew's Cathedral Chapter House, Sydney with twenty-six people present including the Revs. G.A. Chambers^(B) (later to be Bishop of Central Tanganyika and afterward chaplain at the British Embassy Church, Paris), W.L. Langley (later archdeacon) and S.J. Kirkby (first Secretary of the Bush Church-Aid Society and afterward Bishop co-adjutor of Sydney). Bishop Pain took the chair.⁽⁶⁾ They had met to discuss the need

'of a Home Mission Society, bound by no fetters other than that of a loyalty to the Gospel and a sturdy churchmanship, which could operate in all states, organize the resources of the capital cities and concentrate energy and service upon the neglected Bush areas, which so long had been a problem and a reproach to the Church of England.'⁽⁷⁾

At that meeting the Bush Church-Aid Society for Australia and Tasmania was born and empowered 'to call, train and support clergy, Bush brothers, catechists, lay-evangelists, teachers, Bush nurses and Bush deaconesses.' If invited by the bishop it would assist in providing and maintaining hostels, provide preaching missions in country districts, and generally arouse interest in the Bush work so that social and spiritual needs were met.⁽⁸⁾ The Society had maintained Corresponding Committees in Sydney and Melbourne and from these the members of the first Council were drawn.⁽⁹⁾ The time had come for Australia to assume greater responsibility for self-help; Evangelicals in the cities were accused of unwillingness to engage in the harder work of ministry in the remote areas, and the conscience of the cities had to be educated to the needs of the country.

The inaugural meeting decided that the work should be unrestricted by state or diocese.⁽¹⁾ The parent Committee had already agreed in principle to guarantee the first year's stipend of a Secretary of the new Society.⁽²⁾ The Rev. J.D. Mullins visited Australia in August 1919, and on 19 August he conferred with local clergy to further the aims of the by now newly formed BC-AS.⁽³⁾ He was impressed with the opportunity of enlisting the support of the Australian Church in meeting the needs of the outback, and on his return recommended a grant for an Organizing Missioner to work in conjunction with a local committee.⁽⁴⁾ On 18 November following the CCCS guaranteed £400 for the first year and £200 for the two succeeding years,⁽⁵⁾ and the work began on 1 January 1920 when the Rev. S.J. Kirkby assumed office.⁽⁶⁾

The BC-AS might have anticipated enquiries and requests for help in the needy areas but none were forthcoming except from one or two sources. 'The BC-AS knocked at the door of the Church in offering help, but no-one seemed to take heed.'⁽⁷⁾ But this attitude was soon to change!

The Ven. G. Smith (Archdeacon of Broken Hill) invited Kirkby to investigate the West Darling area of western New South Wales, and the Rev. F.W. Harvey volunteered for work in Wilcannia.⁽⁸⁾ The Rev. R.R. Hawkins went to Cobar at the terminus of the western railway in New South Wales, and the Rev. F.H. Fulford was allocated to South Broken Hill. These centres covered the western area of New South Wales bordering the Riverina and Bathurst Dioceses. Probationer brothers and a sub-warden were sent to Grafton supported by the parent Society.^{(9)(A)} At the close of 1920 the Bishop of Gippsland offered the needs of the Croajingalong area - a pioneer area of dense forests, deep valleys, high mountains, and isolated settlements, but no churches! Other measures were under investigation.⁽¹⁰⁾ Hostels came first: in the following year a seven-roomed house was bought in Wilcannia as a BC-AS hostel^(B) for children attending public school. Miss M. Purcell became Hostel sister⁽¹¹⁾ and Harvey was appointed warden.⁽¹²⁾ The work expanded into other states in 1921, and the Rev. N. Haviland, who volunteered at the end of 1920, went to the Far West Mission at Murat Bay in the Willochra Diocese of South Australia. The area had three centres: Ceduna, Penong and Fowlers' Bay.⁽¹³⁾ In the State of Victoria, ministry was supplied for construction camps at Torcumbarry Lock (Bendigo Diocese), Eddon Weir (Wangaratta Diocese) and at Morwell Electric Works (Gippsland Diocese), and a grant was made for a worker at the Hume Reservoir construction camp (Goulburn and Wangaratta Dioceses).⁽¹⁴⁾

By 1922 there was a stream of immigrants^(C) into Western

Australia and Victoria in previously uninhabited areas, and the BC-AS became a real force in Australian Church life as it faced the problem of these areas.⁽¹⁾ In the same year the Rev. Leonard Daniels^(A) left Christ Church, Woking and succeeded Harvey at Wilcannia.⁽²⁾

In July 1922 the Organizing Missioner wrote to London to refer proposals to widen the scope of the BC-AS to include churchmen of other views. But the Committee resolved that, since 'the BC-AS was an Australian Society, it is at liberty to act as seems right; but...it was originated to further Evangelical work in the Bush areas...[if its basis was widened] the Home Committee would not feel able to remit grants through the BC-AS in fairness to the views of the Society's supporters'. The scheme was later abandoned.⁽³⁾

The missioners had to be as mobile as possible to cope with the pioneer situation. The Rev. E. Panelli^(B) took charge of a motor van⁽⁴⁾ used in evangelistic, pastoral and colportage work, and toured through 8,000 miles of the north west of New South Wales.⁽⁵⁾ The earliest mention of the aeroplane as a mode of travel^(C) in BC-AS work came in the 1923 Report.⁽⁶⁾ The Rev. L. Daniels came to England in 1926 and received contributions to buy a 'Moth' aeroplane to be called 'The Far West', and so became the first 'Flying Parson' in history.^{(7)(D)} Quarterly visits to parishoners were now paid monthly.⁽⁸⁾ The practicability of a one-man outfit had never been tested however. But the Presbyterian Australian Inland Mission had secured a plane for a 'Flying Doctor' service in the Northern Territory - but this was a large service-type aircraft needing a professional pilot and mechanic. The BC-AS Moth was a 'baby' weighing only 874 lbs, and Daniels had to be his own pilot and mechanic. Flying conditions were unknown, landing grounds were unplotted and travel was solitary.⁽⁹⁾

Group settlements continued to rise, and appeals came in 1925 from Western Australia (Dioceses of Bunbury and Perth). £300 was set aside for a missioner for the Denmark area of Bunbury,⁽¹⁰⁾ and a special Australia Fund was opened with these in mind, and with a view to sending out candidates.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1927 the CCCS made a grant of £500 annually for six years to be administered by the BC-AS,⁽¹²⁾ and in that year the Rev. J. Lawrence sailed for Bunbury.⁽¹³⁾ In 1929 an appeal came for an aeroplane for the 'Far West Mission' in Willochra Diocese of South Australia which was supplied in the following year.⁽¹⁴⁾

From the very beginning the BC-AS stated its belief that 'the Church's ministry of women must be given its proper place in the activity of the Church in Australia.'⁽¹⁵⁾ The ministry of women was seen to be complementary to that of the men, and the call went out for women nurses,

deaconesses and hostel sisters. A nurse-deaconess^(A) was sent to the Cann River settlement in the scrub at Croajingalong in 1922.⁽¹⁾ In August three years later a Church of England cottage hospital^(B) was opened in a farm house at Ceduna in South Australia with a registered doctor and matron-nurse (Sister D. Percival) in charge,⁽²⁾ and in the next year an operating theatre and apparatus were added.⁽³⁾ A second hospital was opened in Penong in 1928.⁽⁴⁾ A Bush deaconess went to Wilcannia in the West Darling Mission in 1926 (Sister Agnes MacGregor), and in the May of that year a Ladies Mission van went out with Sister Grace Sims and Miss M. de Labilière.⁽⁵⁾

The parent Society considered that its greatest contribution to Australia would be a regular supply of candidates to train in Australia for Australia,⁽⁶⁾ and through the BC-AS candidates were trained in Deaconess House and Moore Theological College, Sydney, at Ridley College, Melbourne, and St. Columb's Hall, Wangaratta.⁽⁷⁾ The 1924 Report recorded twelve candidates in training for the ministry in the Bush areas, and twelve in the Deaconess House.⁽⁸⁾ A year later five more candidates sailed.⁽⁹⁾ By 1928 there were twenty-seven workers in the back-blocks and ten students in training.⁽¹⁰⁾

The Home Sunday School Department of the BC-AS (called the 'Mail-Bag Sunday School') was inaugurated at Advent 1922. The Rev. A.J.H. Priest was asked by Kirkby to write lessons, and this he did for four years during which the membership grew, and in 1926 Miss Huntley took charge.⁽¹¹⁾ The BC-AS was also the first to undertake social work when a ciné projector was bought for the Wilcannia Mission and 'movies' were shown in the townships of the far west.⁽¹²⁾

In 1931 the Organizing Missioner was made an archdeacon,⁽¹³⁾ and in that year an agreement was made between the CCCS and the BC-AS for closer co-operation with a view to advance in Evangelical witness in the back-blocks of Australia. Bishops' applications for aid were to be referred to the BC-AS and grants were to be made through it on a reducing basis to needy areas where help cannot be obtained through diocesan funds. Likewise offers of service were to be communicated to the daughter Society which would place accepted candidates for training. The CCCS placed the £2,000 being made annually to Australia at the disposal of the BC-AS.⁽¹⁴⁾ In that year Daniels left the mission on his appointment to the rectory of Lithgow (Sydney).⁽¹⁵⁾ A year later Archdeacon Kirkby was elected co-adjutor Bishop of Sydney and retired from the mission.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Rev. T.E. Jones,^(C) who had maintained the work was appointed Organizing Missioner in 1935.^{(17)(D)}

The Anglican Medical Services developed rapidly - another hospital

was opened at Normalup under Nurse Anderson in the Denmark area of the Bunbury Diocese.⁽¹⁾ The next stage in the development came with the inauguration of the Church of England 'Flying Medical Services.' It was proposed to erect a Kirky Memorial Hospital^(A) at Cook through which the trans-continental railway passed to the Nullabor Plain. By this means a medical scheme would be created for the whole area, and the Cook Hospital would be connected with those at Penong and Ceduna by aeroplane. The government accepted the scheme and promised aid for maintenance, though a capital sum was needed.⁽²⁾ By February 1937 £2,100 had been raised and the work was begun.⁽³⁾ Completion came early in the following year, and the first aircraft arrived in Ceduna in March 1938 (a Fox Moth - VH-AAA); it was a single engined bi-plane seating four and a stretcher with a cruising speed of eighty-five mph. There were three outside consultation centres in the first year of operation.^(B) A doctor could travel from Cook to Ceduna in five hours. This service was so successful that a second based on Wuddina in South Australia was introduced in 1946.⁽⁴⁾ However within two years of the opening of the work the BC-AS mission districts had grown from six to thirteen, and stations were strung along 900 miles in an unbroken chain.⁽⁵⁾ By 1946 the work had grown considerably. There were six missions in the State of South Australia, together with five school hostels, five hospitals, two flying medical services and the Mail-bag Sunday School.⁽⁶⁾

V.3. East Africa

After the 1914 war, British East Africa became Kenya Colony and German East Africa became Tanganika. Settlement proceeded but it became impossible to find chaplains.⁽⁷⁾ The first chaplain (the Rev. D.B. Reynolds) to the Tanganika Territory was appointed in 1925, and he pioneered his way along two railway lines.⁽⁸⁾ In the following year Tanganika was constituted a separate diocese of Central Tanganika, and the coloured work was undertaken and financed by the Australian Church. Services for Europeans were held in Moshi and Arusha in the new diocese.⁽⁹⁾ The Rev. G.A. Chambers (who was instrumental in founding the BC-AS) was elected first Bishop, and the Society made two annual grants of £200 for the diocese and sent the Rev. J.C. Dunham as chaplain to Moshi in 1927.⁽¹⁰⁾ In that year the Rev. L.J. Bakewell (an Australian) organized European services in Mwanza, Tabora, Kigoma, Kilesha, Mogorogo, Iringa and Dodoma.⁽¹¹⁾ By 1931 Dunham covered the northern part of the diocese and churches were being erected in Moshi and Arusha; and Bakewell concentrated on the south

as well as engaging in native work.⁽¹⁾ An Australian-run school for European children was proposed in 1932.⁽²⁾ During the Second World War the needs of the settlers were met by the missionaries.⁽³⁾ The ground-nuts scheme attracted world-wide attention in 1948 and the Rev.D. Heathcock was sent out to Kongwa to minister to those engaged in it.⁽⁴⁾

In Kenya assistance was given to the bishop as early as 1925 for a European girls school at Limuru (Kiambu),⁽⁵⁾ and within four years it was established. Its intake area included Uganda, Tanganika, Zanzibar, the Seychelles and lower East Africa.⁽⁶⁾

A chaplaincy was opened at Nyeri in 1929 and two years later arrangements were made with the Rev. L.J. Beecher^(A) (then a CMS missionary but later an archbishop) for a monthly service.⁽⁷⁾ Meanwhile a new chaplaincy was established in Kisumu and the surrounding district which included the whole province of Nyanza.⁽⁸⁾ The European chaplaincies in East Africa were always understaffed⁽⁹⁾ because settlers lived in isolated small groups.⁽¹⁰⁾ In 1935 the Limuru School was offered to the CCCS and it was accepted without financial responsibility.⁽¹¹⁾ The transfer was completed two years later,⁽¹²⁾ and a preparatory school was opened at Nanuki in January three years later.⁽¹³⁾ By 1941 the school was so full that it was only taking boarders.⁽¹⁴⁾

After the 1939-45 war the chaplaincies had to be reorganized to reduce them to manageable size and increase the number of chaplains,⁽¹⁵⁾ and by 1946 they were fairly well manned. Many of the girls who would have gone to Limuru went to England to school in the post-war years, and the school was unable to meet its expenses without a government grant. Its future therefore became an open question.⁽¹⁶⁾ Sunday School by Post was started in Kenya after the war, and Miss Wade sailed for Nairobi in February 1947 to take charge of the project, and she took a motor van with her. It also existed in Tanganika.⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1948 a grant was made to Archdeacon Harper in the Soudan for his work as chaplain of the Church Railway Saloon ('The Church on Wheels').⁽¹⁸⁾ By the end of the period there were new and rapidly changing conditions through industrialization in East Africa, and international relationships were under strain which would have an effect on the work among Europeans.⁽¹⁹⁾

V.4. West Africa

The first white chaplain (the Rev. J. Twycross) went to Northern Nigeria in the autumn of 1923 and opened services in Zaria, Kaduna, Kano, Jos and Minna for white officials and traders.⁽²⁰⁾ A church was

consecrated at Jos in January 1926.⁽¹⁾ Twycross's area was twice the size of the United Kingdom, and his visiting was done by motor lorry.⁽²⁾ In 1927 the Committee made grants for work in Freetown (Sierra Leone) and Port Harcourt,⁽³⁾ and a year later a church had been opened at Kaduna and the Rev. J.E. Cowley (CCCS North Eastern Organizing Secretary) replaced Twycross.⁽⁴⁾ Pending an appointment to Port Harcourt and Enugu, a CMS missionary was made a grant in 1930 to take services in Enugu.⁽⁵⁾ He held monthly services for an average congregation of forty; also services were held occasionally in the bishop's chapel in Onitscha and Port Harcourt where the Methodists co-operated.⁽⁶⁾ In 1933 the Rev. J.C. Dunham (Moshi and Arusha) transferred to West Africa to establish a school for Europeans.⁽⁷⁾ During the Second World War army chaplains stationed in West Africa gave their assistance to the work.⁽⁸⁾

V.5. The Far East

The Bishop of South Tokio offered to the CCCS the patronage of a chaplaincy in Yokohama in 1926 and this was accepted.⁽⁹⁾

V.6. Europe

Seasonal chaplaincies reopened in 1920 in France (8), Greece (Corfu), Italy (3), Portugal (1), Spain (1) and Switzerland (23); though the German and Austrian chaplaincies remained closed temporarily.⁽¹⁰⁾ However a year later they did reopen in Germany and started in Czechoslovakia, though reports stated that the travelling public were not taken to visiting the Continent as in pre-war days.⁽¹¹⁾ But within two years the numbers had swelled appreciably⁽¹²⁾ and continued the rising trend until the 1930s. The economic conditions and disturbed international political relations in the Europe of those years curtailed the work again. From 1932 there was a trend downward in the numbers of visitors to Europe and long-established residents returned to England.⁽¹³⁾ Further movements in exchange rates and the political situation in Germany and Spain (where the Civil War in 1936 ended chaplaincy work) delayed a return to normal conditions in British communities.⁽¹⁴⁾ A year later every chaplaincy had experienced a decline in numbers, and the pacification of Europe was still further delayed.⁽¹⁵⁾ The seasonal chaplaincies were curtailed in 1938 because of the European situation,⁽¹⁶⁾ which, within the year, so deteriorated that British residents returned to England. When war broke out the seasonal chaplaincies came to an end.⁽¹⁷⁾

In 1946 the Paris (with Bishop Chambers, lately Bishop of Tanganyika), Cannes, Ostend, Amsterdam and Oslo Churches were re-

opened,⁽¹⁾ but those at Rouen, Ambleteuse, Wimmereux, Le Touquet, Mentone, San Remo and Ospedaletti had been destroyed by enemy action.⁽²⁾ The church in The Hague was destroyed in error by the Royal Air Force.⁽³⁾ Some seasonal chaplaincies in Switzerland re-opened however.⁽⁴⁾ By 1947 fourteen permanent chaplaincies were functioning again, and fifteen seasonal chaplaincies were to re-open in the summer of 1948 owing to the relaxation of currency restrictions.⁽⁵⁾ In 1948 also four winter chaplaincies were arranged,⁽⁶⁾ and a year later sixteen summer and five winter chaplaincies were in operation.⁽⁷⁾

A CCCS grant to the Bishop for expenses was renewed in 1919.⁽⁸⁾ Two years later a chaplains' conference was held to discuss the question of separating North and Central Europe from the Diocese of London. The CCCS Committee stated that it would 'view such a change with approval, provided the Diocese forms part of the Province of Canterbury' (that is on the same basis as Gibraltar).⁽⁹⁾ This represented a change of opinion by the Committee. Bishop Bury resigned in March 1926, and though enquiries with a view to creating a separate bishopric were pursued, the difficulties seemed to be insurmountable. An unofficial approach was made to the Society to make a grant towards the bishop's stipend if a separate diocese were created, and this was received sympathetically.⁽¹⁰⁾ Meanwhile the Rev. Basil Staunton Battey (Vicar of Christ Church, Mayfair) was appointed to succeed Bishop Bury as a suffragan bishop to the Bishop of London with the title 'Fulham'. This was the first time in history that a bishop was consecrated for control in North and Central Europe,⁽¹¹⁾ and the Society's grant of £150 annually was renewed.⁽¹²⁾ This grant continued until 1940 when, since the bishop was not able to travel, it was reduced to £75 annually.⁽¹³⁾ Bishop Staunton Battey resigned in 1946 and he recommended to both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London that an Evangelical be nominated as successor since the greater part of the work in Europe was in the Society's hands.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Archdeacon of Bath (W.M. Selwyn)^(A) who was formerly chaplain at the British Embassy Church, Paris, and a sitting Committee member of the CCCS was consecrated.⁽¹⁵⁾ The Bishop's grant was increased to £100 in April 1947 and to the full grant of £150 in the June of that year.⁽¹⁶⁾ In 1948 the Committee agreed to a grant of £50 annually to the Bishop of Gibraltar.⁽¹⁷⁾

In November 1949 the Committee proposed to appoint a Secretary for Europe to work under the General Secretary, and to be a special deputation speaker for the Society, but this was left in abeyance because of the prevailing conditions.⁽¹⁸⁾

Footnotes

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- A. GE Lloyd was elected Bishop of Saskatchewan in 1921. (See pp.128f)
- B. There had to be a reduction in expenditure because of a £10,000 deficit. (1921 Report, CCCS, p.34)

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- A. Stewart died in Safron Walden in Essex in 1954, aged 89. (1954 Report, CCCS, p.7; GBM, CCCS, 446, July-Sept.1954, p.6)

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- A. Lloyd visited England for a deputation tour on behalf of the Society in 1922. (1922 Report, CCCS, p.72)
 - B. e.g. Deaconess Tozer. (1922 Report, CCCS, p.72) Bishop Lloyd spoke in Synod in 1922 about the position of women workers (the Lambeth 1920 Conference suggested the revival of the order of 'deaconess' and the Saskatchewan Synod had subsequently passed a resolution); and the Saskatchewan Synod had subsequently passed a resolution);
t/ 'In my judgement, the Canon of the General Synod...constitutes her Deaconess Mabel Jones clergy.' Women workers were ministerial workers not social helpers. (Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, p.309)
 - C. In 1922 there were 33 men in training in Emmanuel College, 24 of whom were grantee students of the Society. (1922 Report, CCCS, p.76) The number stabilized at 40 (1926) until the buildings were completed. It was thought this rise in numbers would solve many of the staffing problems of the western dioceses. (1926 Report, CCCS, p.38)
 - D. e.g. at Baljennie. (1923 Report, CCCS, p.38)
 - E. In the Melfort deanery - Carrot River Valley, White Fox country, and soldier settlements at Prairie River and Hudson's Bay Junction. (1924 Report, CCCS, p.65)
 - F. In addition there were 25 areas which had had their own ministry prior to the war. (1925 Report, CCCS, p.60)
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- A. In the north there were 26 clergy and 14 students engaged in white work, and 10 clergy and 3 students engaged in Indian work, looking to Bishops College in Prince Albert for staff. (1930 Report, CCCS, p.36)
 - B. Bishop Burd was the first Emmanuel College graduate to become a bishop. (1932 Report, CCCS, p.36) He resigned in 1939. (1938 Report, CCCS, p.37)
 - C. The Society assumed control, including the maintenance of the teaching staff and buildings, on 18 October 1921. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 18 October 1921) This agreement was renewed from 2 May 1931 for 20 years. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 17 February 1931)
 - D. e.g. in 1928 - 22 in Saskatchewan, 4 in Qu'Appelle, 3 in Athabasca, 3 in Edmonton, 1 in Brandon, 1 in Keewatin and 1 in Yukon. (1928 Report, CCCS, p.65)
 - E. Later and present Bishop of Cariboo and Executive Officer of the Anglican Communion. (see p.101, note B)

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- A. This mission van and chauffeuse (Miss C Jackson) were given to the diocese by Miss Eva Hasell of Datermain, Cumberland who had raised a Western Canada caravan fund. (1922 Report, CCCS, p.46)
- B. The 'Font Roll' lapsed in 1924 when Miss Macmillan had to return to England. (1924 Report, CCCS, p.73)
- C. In 1927 there were 6,000 children representing 2,680 families. (1927 Report, CCCS, p.69)
- D. These courses were on practical devotional lines, e.g. 'Our Lord's conversations.' (1930 Report, CCCS, p.70)
- E. 1,500 individual lessons were corrected monthly in the Prince Albert office. (1944 Report, CCCS, p.10)
- F. Increasingly large numbers of Canadian students applied for admission during the war. (1923 Report, CCCS, p.83)

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- A. Pouce Coupe was an area separated by the Rocky Mountains from the rest of the Diocese of Caledonia. (1929 Report, CCCS, p.39)
- B. Dr Renison (Bishop of Athabasca) wrote that the Peace River Country in the western part of his diocese should be joined with that part in the Diocese of Caledonia and form a separate See. (1931 Report, CCCS, p.75)

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- A. In a letter from the Sydney Diocesan Magazine in August 1914. (SJ Kirkby, These Ten Years, 1930, p.7)
- B. The foundation of the BC-AS owed much to the drive of GA Chambers. (1959 Report C&CCS, p.13)

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- A. The BC-AS felt that these should be the responsibility of a diocesan Home Mission organization, and that the BC-AS should address itself to wider tasks beyond the power of ordinary agencies, viz. the outback. (Kirkby, op cit, p.10)
- B. These hostels were designed for outback children who would not get primary education unless they attended Roman Catholic Convent schools. (Kirkby, ibid, p.23)
- C. Lord Northcliffe urged 100,000 rising to 250,000 annually, and the Government devoted £3 million to promote group settlement emigration to the Dominions. (1921 Report, CCCS, pp.36f)

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- A. Daniels later became the first 'Flying parson'.
- B. He was succeeded after two years by Mr EG Thorpe. (1926 Report, CCCS, p.89)
- C. The Wilcannia Mission area covered 40,000 square miles. (1923 Report, CCCS, p.93)
- D. The BC-AS Council had approved the purchase of a 'Moth' aircraft in England in 1927. It was to be available early in 1928. (Kirkby, op cit, p.36) The plane would cost £250. (GBM, CCCS, 276, May-June, 1924, p.42)

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- A. Sister D Allmond. (1922 Report, CCCS, p.65)
- B. There were 3 wards (2 for women, 1 for men) each holding 7 beds. (1924 Report, CCCS, p.88)
- C. Later Bishop of Willochra. (GBM, CCCS, 464, Jan-March 1959, p.2)
- D. The Rev.T Terry, Bishop Kirkby's immediate successor, resigned owing to ill-health in 1934. (1934 Report, CCCS, p.39)

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- A. Bishop Kirkby died in 1935, aged 56. (GBM, CCCS, 344, Sept-Oct.1935, pp.79f)
- B. By 1959 there were 9 centres, 30 landing grounds, and the staff covered 35,000 miles per year. (The RA, BC-AS, June 1959, pp.11-14, 18)

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- A. LJ Beecher was CMS missionary in Nakuru 1944-5; Archdeacon of Mombasa 1945-53; assistant Bishop 1950-3 then Bishop of Mombasa from 1953. He was appointed Archbishop of East Africa in 1960. (Crockford entry)

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- A. WM Selwyn was chaplain of the British Embassy Church, Paris 1921-9; he became Archdeacon of Bath 1938-47. (Crockford entry)

VI. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY

VI.1. The Key Problems

VI.1.1. The Colonial Bishops and the Society

The real issue here is the question of the balance of authority between the colonial Bishop and the voluntary Societies operating in his diocese. We have seen that the voluntary Societies (see chapter 1) were compelled to take the initiative at first because Parliamentary control slowed the process of episcopal expansion abroad.^(A) But the Oxford Movement gave the impetus^(B) to the demand for missionary work to become a matter for the whole church, and for it therefore to come under episcopal control. This, allied with the founding of the Colonial Bishops Fund in 1840 and the subsequent appointment of bishops to newly created colonial Sees who favoured the 'High Church' principle,⁽¹⁾ brought them and the Evangelical Societies, who favoured the 'Church' principle, into collision. The Societies were in the field before many of the colonial bishops, and the colonial Church could not survive without the money and the manpower of the voluntary Societies - as we have seen. The Societies often had heavy financial commitments in a diocese and they were trustees of public money. The principle of representation reasonably goes along with that of taxation, but sadly, some Bishops treated the Societies as rivals!

By 1840 the Church had survived the wave of dislike and hostility - it had gone through a period of reformation (in which Blomfield was the leading figure) and its privileges had been gradually eroded. It then began to enjoy a period of increased vitality which spread to the colonies and resulted in a vigorous Church expansion⁽²⁾ (the development of the CCS and the CCSS is an example of this). The impact of the Tractarian and Evangelical revivals was making itself felt in the life of the nation. The colonial episcopate and the colonial work of the Societies developed in parallel movements. Now what were the respective rôles? By the mid-1830s some definition was needed.

As we have seen the SPG had a strong episcopal element from the beginning and was under episcopal control (see p.4.). In 1843 the SPG committee resolved 'that the Society recognizes no Theological tests of fitness for its service other than those which are provided in our Liturgy and Articles.' It has always maintained this position. In 1854 for example it again affirmed its stand on this principle: 'the wise and comprehensive spirit of the Church of England, excluding none from its service whom the Church would admit, and admitting none whom the Church would exclude⁽³⁾ During the eighteenth century the SPG worked for the introduction of the

episcopate in the American colonies, but for the first three decades of the nineteenth century it took few initiatives⁽¹⁾ - the formation of the CCS in May 1838 spurred the SPG to action in June 1838 (see p.30). But after 1840, when the Colonial Bishops Fund was created and E. Hawkins (Secretary of the SPG) became its first Secretary, the SPG began again to work for the introduction of episcopacy into the colonies. Its funds were placed at the disposal of the bishops and it transferred to them its rights of stationing.⁽²⁾

The Evangelicals on the other hand were more cautious in their courting of the colonial bishops, but one ought to bear in mind

'the attachment which many [Evangelicals] felt to the episcopal constitution of their Church...to these men episcopacy was a divine or at least an apostolic institution, which they thought valuable or possibly even necessary for the perfection of the Church [but] they believed...that there could be a true Church and a valid ministry where there was no episcopal ordination.'⁽³⁾

Now precisely what were the powers of the colonial bishops and societies? When Charles Inglis (the first colonial Bishop) was appointed to Nova Scotia in 1787, his Letters Patent dated 9 and 13 August, though giving him a genuine jurisdiction, restricted it to purely ecclesiastical affairs ('jurisdiction spiritual and ecclesiastical').⁽⁴⁾ Temporal jurisdiction was specifically excluded, and in the Letters Patent of T.F. Middleton (first Bishop of Calcutta) dated 2 May 1814 the Crown added the reservation that nothing in the Letter could be used to restrict the authority of the Governor General or Governors and that the Letters Patent could be cancelled.⁽⁵⁾ So it seems clear that the Crown was not allowing the monarchical episcopate to be set up in the colonies where it might turn out to be a rival to its temporal authority represented by the civil authorities. Yet

...a/
'These early colonial bishops often themselves got into trouble with the secular authorities through their stubborn attempts to secure...the privileges of an Established Church in the colonies. They came out with the Church and State idea prevailing in England in those days. And their idea of a Bishop was...the monarchical/circumstance of no small importance for their relations to the missionary societies.'⁽⁶⁾

In defining authority it is the views of Archbishop Howley and Bishop Wilson of Calcutta that are chiefly of importance.

On the question of licences the CMS appealed over the heads of the West Indian Bishops to Howley of Canterbury and Blomfield of London in 1833. Howley replied, 'I think the Committee must perceive,

'that if the Bishop is deprived of all power in regard to the location of Missionaries (a point

on which he ought to have a negative) and the limitation of the exercise of their ministry,... of the right of revoking licences...his authority as Ordinary will be little more than nominal, and very nearly useless.' (1)

The CMS then addressed the memorial to the Bishops of Barbados (W.H. Coleridge) and Jamaica (C. Lipscomb) in May 1834, and on the questioning of stationing Barbados agreed (Jamaica seemed agreeable too) to the CMS committee, after consultation with him, selecting the 'sphere' in which the Bishop himself would select an area to keep the missionary fully occupied.⁽²⁾ In other words the proper principle to adopt was consultation with and approval by the bishop of a location in his diocese. Licences had to be limited, and, since the question was not raised, still revokable! Episcopal authority had to be real authority.

Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, was a prominent Evangelical. He distinguished in 1836 between the lay-patronage of the society (appointment, transfer and management) and his spiritual jurisdiction (he 'licenses, superintends, suggests, directs, censures, suspends, exercises his appropriate spiritual jurisdiction in concurrence with' the societies.⁽³⁾ He propounded 4 rules^(A) which were taken into the Calcutta Corresponding Committee (of CMS) minutes, and were later confirmed by the Home Committee and printed in the CMS Report for 1839.⁽⁴⁾ This signified agreement that the 'spiritual jurisdiction' of a bishop is more than merely formal and nominal and so the bid by CMS for independency was checked. But really the great fear of the society was autocracy and the abuse of power that a monarchical view of episcopacy could lead to. However, Wilson, whose views of episcopacy were far from monarchical, commented upon his first rule (about licensing and stationing) 'undoubtedly all

discretionary power is capable of abuse: but the question is whether the power is really delegated to the Bishop in virtue of his spiritual office; if it be, we are not to take for granted it will be abused...Nothing is in the least likely...to arise to impede or cramp the Committee, since they unquestionably avowedly possess, the choice of men, the appointment of spheres of labour, the temporal power, including pecuniary support.' (5)

So licences were, after all, not to be summarily revoked. Now agreement was reached on matters in dispute with the CMS, and these views were incorporated in Henry Venn's 'Remarks on the Constitution and Practice of the Church Missionary Society' appended to the 1839 Report, and they subsequently governed the attitude of the CMS (and Evangelicals in general?) to episcopal authority.⁽⁶⁾ In other words relations were to be based on mutual confidence as well as sound principles, and this was something

the C&CCS, in the workings of its parent bodies, wished for: for example the NSS in 1846 admitted a 'just regard to Ecclesiastical order' by applying for licences, but at the same time referred to the necessity of its appointments having the Committee's confidence. This arrangement, it declared, depended on mutual confidence (see p.27). This is precisely what Wilson's (he had previously been honorary Secretary of the NSS) guidelines allowed.

Generally relations between the bishops and the C&CCS and its forebears were good whilst there was sympathy of theological views between them (Spencer of Newfoundland and Binney of Nova Scotia have been referred to⁽¹⁾, but where a bishop had Tractarian sympathies (as in the case of Spencer's successor, Feild⁽²⁾, there was a struggle. Earlier, in 1838, when John Inglis of Nova Scotia wanted complete (including financial) control of the Society's agents in his diocese, the Society asserted its authority (see p.31). It seems that Inglis held monarchical views of his episcopate and the CCS obviously based its stand on that of the CMS (laid down in Wilson's guidelines in 1836) which defined the spiritual jurisdiction of a bishop. When in 1842 the CCS constitution was revised, specific reference was made to 'spiritual jurisdiction' (see p.30) - this was at once a limitation and a franchise; no more but no less than the Letters Patent would have described. This was in line with the Crown's (supported by the Government's) view - one might say a 'lay' view, which also predominated in the Evangelical Societies during these years. The original constitution of the CCS (1837) allowed for the 'approval' of missionary candidates by the appropriate bishop in an effort to co-operate, and the Corresponding Committee was given executive powers.⁽³⁾ But as soon as difficulties arose with John Inglis⁽⁴⁾ over the clauses in the Society's constitution which claimed for it the power to select, appoint, locate, pay and dismiss its missionaries, the Society restricted the bishop's authority to spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction only. The Committee's view hardened over the succeeding three years as probably the Bishop's did so that by 1842 provision for the approval of the bishop was removed entirely from the constitution,⁽⁵⁾ and the Committee asserted complete control over its agents.

In 1839 the CCS issued a statement about the principal points in the constitution at issue.⁽⁶⁾ Inglis objected that the Society's rules were in opposition to the principles of the Church,^(A) though it conducted its affairs in accordance with the principles of the Church in England! The Society's missionary clergy were under the episcopal jurisdiction of their diocesan, as parish clergy at home were, except that the freehold at home rendered a man completely independent of the bishop. The Society retained the right to locate its agents, as trustees at home were empowered to make

appointments, in order to ensure an Evangelical ministry. It undertook financial responsibility for its agents so that they may be free from the pressure of inducements to conceal part of the Gospel - that is to secure financial independence from their bishop.^(A) Corresponding Committees superintended the temporal concerns of each station as the bishop's ally, clergy superintended catechists and lone lay agents were supervised by the Corresponding Committee. Inglis further objected that the CCS was a 'new' Society; he argued that the inadequacy of the resources of the SPG did not necessitate the founding of a Society whose difference of view would cause disunity in the diocese.⁽¹⁾ But the CCS argued that it meant added wealth for the cause from Evangelicals who would not support the SPG, and that it was not a rival but an auxiliary to the older Society: there was work for both, and the CCS worked under government sanction too.⁽²⁾ A letter to Inglis in 1842 assured him of the Committee's desire to co-operate with him in carrying out plans beneficial to the diocese and consistent with the Society's principles.⁽³⁾

This was not an insoluble problem, as the working agreement between Fulford of Montreal and the Society in June 1852 showed.^(B) Yet in the autumn of that year the Bishop of Capetown (Gray) objected to the presence of a Corresponding Committee in his diocese,⁽⁴⁾ and sought the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Sumner - CCSS Vice-Patron) to cause alterations to the Society's constitution. A deputation from the Committee met the Archbishop in March 1853 who agreed that the rules and practice could not be changed, and that the Committee's funds could not be entrusted to one man.⁽⁵⁾

The Bishop of Gibraltar (W.E. Collins) entered into correspondence with the Society in 1905 with regard to its right of veto upon the Ornaments^(C) in its private property, namely, in the church at Seville. The controversy related to the control of the Society's property, and the Bishop withheld his licence until the matter was settled. A Memorandum on matters in dispute was drawn up and appended to the minutes of a special meeting of the General Committee on 24 January 1906. With regard to the Society's property

'the Committee are advised that these churches have a status analogous to that of private or proprietary chapels at home, over which the English law recognizes that the private owners have the fullest proprietary rights, and that to an extent which might prima facie be supposed to conflict with the ordinary rules of Church law; for instance, they are not only responsible for fabric, but they could charge for admission, and even exclude any person they pleased (see *Heath v. Bosanquet* 3 LTNS 290). The Committee are advised that while there appears to be no express decision as to the right of the owners of private chapels in England with regard to the ornaments, the same reason on which the court held the proprietor of a chapel justified in excluding intending worshippers would a fortiori justify the Society as proprietor in excluding ornaments.' (D)

The Memorandum makes clear that the Society must maintain the teaching and ritual of which the supporters would approve and, since it would be responsible for repairs and maintenance of the churches and their contents, it had a right of veto on the presentation of such ornaments to the church. It claimed that it provided all the articles and ornaments required by English law for public worship.⁽¹⁾ With regard to the question of the Bishop's licence the Memorandum cited the opinion of the five prelates in the Ceylon controversy (1880) that the licences of missionaries are analogous to those of incumbents and not of curates, and as such could not be refused or withdrawn except for cause shown, in which case an appeal would lie to the Metropolitan. The Committee was advised that this ruling applied to their chaplains, and urged that the Bishop was acting ultra vires in refusing licences under those circumstances.⁽²⁾

Two further instances of conflicting interests must be mentioned because they focus on the issue of 'unity' and raise the question of the control of Society chaplaincies.^(A) Christ Church, Brussels (1957-9), and the British Embassy Church, Paris (1969-71). In November 1957 the then Bishop of Fulham (R.N. Cook) proposed the unification of Christ Church, Brussels and the Church of the Resurrection (of Anglo-Catholic tradition). The Society's Committee supported this in a resolution on 21 November 1957,⁽³⁾ despite considerable disquiet (a special General Meeting of Members of the Society was called on 20 April 1959 to stop it⁽⁴⁾), not least by the Society's solicitor, who acts as legal advisor to the Trustees. Whilst acknowledging that there was no legal bar to the transfer of patronage in July 1958, he raised the question of the transfer on moral and spiritual grounds, but he was dismissed.⁽⁵⁾ In the following month he advised that no further action be taken until the 'Draft Act of Union' had been laid before the Trustees,⁽⁶⁾ but it had already been signed in Brussels two weeks before!^(C) The two congregations were united according to Belgian law; the union was a fait accompli. The matter was re-opened and the Bishop expressed his disappointment that the issue was re-opened after the Committee had pledged itself.⁽⁷⁾ The Trustees legal advisor wrote that a licence^(D) referring to outgoings and repairs, the changes in the church and ornaments, and the services must be granted to safeguard the use of the property.⁽⁸⁾ A resolution from the church council of Christ Church, Brussels (dated 19 April 1959) was received by Committee on April 1959 which stated that it refused to accept any restrictions on the use of the buildings, and supporting the refusal of the proposed chaplain to accept any restrictions on his ministry other than hierarchical authority or his own conscience.⁽⁹⁾ At its meeting on 28 April the Committee passed motions to grant an unrestricted licence for three years for the use of the buildings and

de-doctrinizing the vestments that were to be used in the united chaplaincy. The chairman resigned at the ensuing General Meeting of members and a new Committee was elected under the chairmanship of the Rev. J. Goss. It is clear that the action referred to above, though it might have expressed the view of the then Committee, was considerably in advance of that commonly (or historically) held by the members at large. A Committee acting in the interests and on the principles of the Society could not then have passed those motions! But the stable door was closed after the horse had bolted!

The new Committee passed a motion disapproving of the use of vestments.⁽¹⁾ The institution of the new chaplain of the united chaplaincy took place in Christ Church though the consent of the new Committee through the chairman was withheld,⁽²⁾ whereupon the new Committee disassociated itself from the events and the use of the buildings, and resolved to explore the possibility of establishing a separate Evangelical ministry in Christ Church, Brussels.⁽³⁾ Actually nothing further appears in the minutes.

When the second development scheme for the Society's church (the British Embassy Church) in Paris failed in 1969, a proposal for the union of the church with St. George's was made as a viable alternative.⁽⁴⁾ In spite of considerable pressure for amalgamation of the two churches, the Society declared its understanding of the value of a separate Evangelical ministry in Paris,⁽⁵⁾ and at its meeting on 1 December 1970 (see Minutes) three proposals were put and carried nem con; that the Embassy Church site be retained; that the Anglican tradition as understood by the Society be retained in Paris; and to ensure these that the site be re-developed with all possible speed. A free vote of the congregation of the Embassy Church in October 1971 gained a less than sixty percent majority (deemed by the Bishop of Fulham with Gibraltar to be necessary to carry the reunion scheme), and the attempt therefore failed.⁽⁶⁾

VI.1.2. The Theological Position of the Society

The Society has no doctrinal basis as such, but its constitution shows (see Appendix C) that it is an Anglican Church Society. Its credenda are therefore the XXXIX Articles and Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.⁽⁷⁾ But it is also an Evangelical Society^(A) whose origins have been traced to the influence and support of the Evangelicals of the Clapham Sect. Men like William Wilberforce, Josiah Pratt and Edward Bickersteth (joint Secretaries of the CMS), Henry Budd, Samuel Crowther and Daniel Wilson were directly associated with the NSS (see p.22).

A motion at the founding meeting of that Society proposed that it 'teach the people the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the way of salvation revealed in them' (see p.21). The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row was active in founding the WAMS, and the Lords Teignmouth and Glenelg bestowed their patronage on the Society which became the CCS (see p.29 and note C). The intention of amalgamating these two Societies in 1851 was to draw the support of the whole Evangelical body of the Church of England (see p. 47 and note A).

Now it is clear that the Society in common with all Evangelical enterprise looked for something more than outward conformity to the Church of England,^(A) and this is consistent with Evangelical principles (see pp 6f). Some indication of the sort of man the Society sought is to be found in the Questionnaire^(B) to candidates where the preamble stated, 'It is the desire of the Committee...to select clergymen...of decidedly Evangelical principles.'⁽¹⁾ Questions 11-16 only are relevant at this point, and one of them asks the candidate for his views on 'the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures as the rule of Faith'.^(C)

It is on this view of scripture, historically, that 'conservatives' and 'liberals' divided; and the historical evidence suggests that the Society has always maintained a 'conservative' tradition. There are perhaps two occasions recorded in the minutes when this could be questioned: one was the Committee's actions in the Brussels débâcle of 1957-8, the second was an earlier occasion - in 1889, at a change in the Secretaryship of the Society when certain prominent members questioned whether the Society had drifted away from this position during the previous decade. The first has already been referred to (see pp. 149f). In January 1889 a privately printed letter was sent to the chairman by some eminent Evangelical members^(D) stating that 'many things have occurred which have seriously tended to shake...confidence, and lead us to fear that the Society has begun to drift from the position it once occupied.'⁽²⁾ The signatories referred to the withdrawal of a paper formerly sent out to clergy intending to have sermons for the Society, and the substitution of another from which all reference to the Evangelical and Protestant principles of the Society was carefully omitted and the fear that many chaplains sent out in the preceding years were no longer committed definitely to Evangelical principles. The chairman's written reply (after the signatories had attended a conference of the Committee) stated that the withdrawal of the statement of the Society's principles from the letter to clergy was made without the authority or knowledge of the Committee, that it would not have received approval, and that steps had been taken to restore it. It also stated that some chaplains, who have acted in previous years without

any departure from the Society's principles, have changed their views, but that there was no carelessness in selecting agents; but, as a precaution, the names of candidates recommended by the selection committees would in future be circulated to the General Committee. He concluded by saying that action has in no case been taken with any intention to drift from the position which it has all along occupied as a Protestant and Evangelical Society.⁽¹⁾

Further evidence of the theological position is suggested by the wording of certain Trust Deeds in the Society's possession. A letter from the Society's solicitor^(A) in August 1971 states that 'this Society has always maintained the tradition of a Protestant and Evangelical Society and all the documents of individual trusts which I have perused have all shown that the money has been given on the basis that the Society follows this tradition.'

Evangelicals have perhaps never been powerful or prominent in the Church, and they have been criticized strongly from all sides. But they have been a moral influence for good. In the nineteenth century they saw three evils in Romanism, Ritualism and Rationalism - and they mobilized (as the foregoing history of British people overseas shows) to counteract them. They sought to do this by establishing church life on what they considered to be sound christian principles; and they were consistent. The Evangelicals were loyal churchmen; they were not ashamed of the unique contribution that they could make to Anglican life. Evangelicalism at its best is always positive and 'catholic' in spirit, whilst maintaining its own distinctive principles.

VI.1.3. The 'Voluntary' Society in the Total Life of the Church

The 'voluntary' Society is an established feature of Anglican Church life in England. We have seen that they were compelled to take the initiative originally and that Evangelical missionary enthusiasm had to find its outlet through its own overseas agencies. Bray's intention in seeking a Royal charter for the SPG was to found an official Church agency (see p.4) and it received responsibility from the SPCK for North America, and was looked upon as the Church's missionary agency. But by 1800 it had not fulfilled its early promise and was in a moribund condition. Cromwell's intention behind the prototype 'New England Company' seems to have been to establish an official Church agency. The lesson which the founding of the Evangelical Societies points to is that these 'Church' agencies can and sometimes do stifle initiative and enthusiasm. It is at least possible that the Evangelical Societies like the CMS and the later Newfoundland and Australian Societies would not have been founded at all if the Evangelicals had been 'accepted', and allowed to influence the policies of the SPG

(see pp.4ff). The Evangelicals did not intend to be rivals to the older Societies, but co-labourers. The field was wide enough for all to share (see p.8):

So there are two systems of organization for missionary activity within Anglicanism - the unitary and the multiple.^(A) Eleven voluntary Societies are the 'officially recognized agencies of the Church for its overseas work'⁽¹⁾ and 'the Societies and other Agencies have built up in the course of their history characteristics and traditions which have enriched the life of the Church.'⁽²⁾ But the present disquiet about the Society (multiple) principle cannot be ignored: there are developments in twentieth-century Anglicanism in the light of which our missionary organization needs to be re-examined. Perhaps the dominant characteristic of the twentieth century is 'Church consciousness',⁽³⁾ - that is, following the expansion of Empire in the nineteenth century and the creation of independent self-governing Churches in the Dominions, the thinking at home (at the top certainly) has become imperial rather than parochial.

Henry Venn, the Secretary of the CMS in the 1850s was 'deeply convinced that the "Voluntary Principle", by which men and women agreed not only on the goal but on the means to reach it and were united to pursue it, had a validity of its own in the work of the Gospel',⁽⁴⁾ and in a letter to the Archbishop of York wrote, 'its supporters were attracted to it by the declaration of the principles on which it was to be conducted that its Committees have been annually elected on the faith of their adherence to these principles' as a voluntary Society.⁽⁵⁾ But a century later Canon J. McLeod Campbell (then Secretary of the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly) talked about 'the Church a Missionary Society' as a higher conception than the Society idea. He asked the question 'should the Church in England have machinery by which it could be its own missionary society', and demanded a re-examination of the Church's missionary institutions.⁽⁶⁾ What developments in the twentieth century have produced this Church consciousness that exalts the unitary over against the voluntary principle? As the Report 'Growing Together' suggests the 'logical application of the unitary principle would virtually supercede missionary organization based on the multiple system.'⁽⁷⁾ The idea of a unitary system, however, is not new in England (see p.4)

Church consciousness - or sense of corporate unity - has grown with the growth of a world-wide fellowship within Anglicanism: from the planting of the English Church in the Colonies to the emerging of a family of Churches that have organized themselves as independent units. This world-wide fellowship has helped to create the Ecumenical Movement which has been the predominant influence on thought during the last fifty years. This

is illustrated by the word cluster - 'Church - unity - mission': the one Church has one mission which is the responsibility of the one Church. The International Missionary Councils and the World Council of Churches have given recognition and impetus to the movement towards Church consciousness.⁽¹⁾

It is logical that a new sense of corporate unity should lead to the creation of organs for self-expression. The Convocations were revived in 1854, the Church Assembly (which has now given place to the General Synod) was created in 1921 and it subsequently set up the Missionary Council as its organ.⁽²⁾ However, Provincial Boards of Mission existed in the 1880s and a Central Board of Missions from 1909.⁽³⁾ But long before this, one of the duties of the synod proposed in 1871 for the Salisbury Diocese was to take charge of the voluntary associations in the diocese with the consent of the Societies - that is to supercede (as the Ely proposals today suggest) the existing system of Association arrangements.⁽⁴⁾ But even before that - in 1841 - a Board of Management was proposed to the CMS but the Society promptly resolved on a separate and independent existence.⁽⁵⁾ McLeod Campbell asked in 1946 whether, under changed conditions, some new policy (the Church itself to initiate and control missionary activity) might be agreed upon. The Missionary Council then set up a Commission in that year to examine the Church's missionary organization, and its Report 'Growing Together' was published three years later. But its interim Report recommended a change in the status quo (page 29) because autonomous Provinces with Synodical government (and a missionary organization of an unitary type) had to communicate with the Home Church through different and independent channels (with a missionary organization of the multiple type), and suggested that the Societies develop a scheme for closer co-operation in consultation and exchange of information.

However the Report stated, 'We have taken it as an axiom that no new system can be imposed upon the Missionary Societies from without: whatever change takes place must be by their free consent.'⁽⁶⁾ It invited the Societies 'to exalt the principle (of co-operation) to a place within their policy structure,' through formal resolutions - though unofficial and friendly links already existed. This recognition by the Societies and their realization of integral relations to the Church was vital to any introduction of unitary ideas into the multiple system. The Missionary Council looked to the Societies to do nothing separately which could be done together.⁽⁷⁾ Briefly, the recommendations were - the setting up of Territorial Advisory Councils overseas; a Home Council (fulfilling the functions at home of the Territorial Councils overseas but working through Committees for development, education and finance) and Diocesan Missionary Councils; a Central Council

(to be called the Overseas Council of the Church Assembly) to be the servant of the Church Assembly, the Secretariat of the Archbishop of Canterbury on overseas questions and the link with the Anglican Communion Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy.⁽¹⁾ The Report concluded, 'We fully share the common English mistrust of central bureaucratic control, with its tendency to sap the energy and to attenuate the responsibility of ancillary or local enterprise; and we have been careful to avoid any proposal which would impair the essential freedom of the Missionary Societies.'⁽²⁾

In effect, the Report declined to recommend the change to the unitary system. Perhaps the reason for this was that 'the unitary system implies a far greater measure of unanimity of outlook than exists in the Church of England...it is difficult to see how the Church of England can rejoice in being comprehensive and inclusive and yet at the same time be expected to organize missionary work on a unitary basis.'⁽³⁾

Three reasons may be given in favour of the voluntary system. The first is theological: which acknowledges the sovereignty and spontaneity of the Holy Spirit to call the individual and for him to respond. There must be balance between the Church as the community and the individual. 'It has been the genius of the Church of England that...it has consciously aimed at using its organization for the purpose of allowing its individual members the greatest possible measure of freedom.'⁽⁴⁾ That is that tensions can be held together in a framework of order. The second is sociological: 'One contribution...which the Church has to make to the modern world is an insistence on the value of the individual and his growth in responsibility, over against recurring tendencies to submerge him in a mass society.'⁽⁵⁾ Drewett continues, in 'mass organizations, the individual is left with an ever decreasing measure of personal responsibility...This leads inevitably to the de-personalization of human life and to a loss of personal dignity.'⁽⁶⁾ The right of voluntary association for a common cause is a mark of responsible society. The third is practical: 'The renewal of the Church...seldom begins at the top or the centre, but at the base and the periphery...the Missionary Societies protect the Church from bureaucracy and from over-centralization; they supply inroads of new life and interest and energy at local levels which would be utterly impossible for a huge central organization.'⁽⁷⁾ A lesson that the English Church history of this period points to is that the more organized the Church, the more slowly it responds to the 'frontier' situation! Drewett refers to Latourette who remarked (in his 'History of the Expansion of Christianity') that locally organized Churches - Baptists, Congregationalists and Methodists - were first off the mark in the Colonies. 'Anglicanism and Presbyterianism were too respectable to fit in happily to the rough and tumble conditions of the front line.'⁽⁸⁾

We have noted in the history of the C&CCS how frequently both the Colonial Church and the Society lamented the slowness of the response of the organized mother Church to the needs of her fast growing daughters. Sir Kenneth Grubb, in his Presidential Address to the CMS in 1958, said, 'Precisely because the voluntary principle is itself voluntary, it is adaptable to the times and capable of adjustment to the demands of the hour.'⁽¹⁾ The Missionary Societies are not rivals or competitors but collaborators within and with the Church.

An independent Society is valuable from other points of view: to provide a fellowship of interested praying people at home to support the overseas missionary; to receive financial gifts from those who, doctrinal considerations apart, would not give money without having some control over its spending - the Englishman always has preferred liberty to give to objects which particularly appeal, rather than to general objects; and to allow individuals to make a personal response to need under the guidance of the Holy Spirit - and not least in providing opportunities for lay-initiatives in missionary activity. Since the Church cannot act corporately some agency would be necessary, but it is doubtful if a Board would be more representative of the Church as a whole than the system of the voluntary Society, or that the officials would be any different to deal with. But as far as Evangelicals are concerned the real question once again would be to what extent such a Board would allow them to influence policy. What would be the Board's or Synod's view of giving expression in the work to differences of doctrine or principles of working? How flexible would this structure be? That is the strength of the voluntary principle.

VI.1.4. The Principle of 'Lay' Help in Mission Work

'The Evangelicals have always upheld the principle of lay help in missions, parish work, and every kind of religious organization...mission work in particular...The employment of lay assistants in every part of the work of evangelizing has been a consistent aim of the evangelical Party.'⁽²⁾

The NSS employed lay schoolmasters, and the CCS, at its Annual General Meeting on 1 May 1844, passed a motion

'that employment of lay catechists and schoolmasters as subsidiary to the labours of the clergy, and their location in situations where ordained ministers cannot be maintained, appears to this meeting eminently calculated...to promote the spiritual welfare of the colonial population.'⁽³⁾

This policy aroused a certain amount of obloquy,^(A) as Warre Cornish remarks in relation to a home-mission Society.⁽⁴⁾ Balleine states that in the past the layman's work was to provide money and occasionally to serve on a committee, but from the mid-nineteenth century onwards he took

his share in preaching and teaching too.⁽¹⁾ The Hon and Rev. Baptist Noel remarked in 1844 that the principle of lay help had been already won to the Church and that there was no more suitable education for the colonial ministry.⁽²⁾ The Bishop of Newfoundland pioneered the 'deacon-schoolmaster' by ordaining six of the Society's lay agents in 1839 (see p.25).

Though there was a desperate need of clergy in the colonies, laymen of 'earnest piety, robust health, strong sense and good elementary education [could] be obtained with less difficulty' and many were subsequently ordained.⁽³⁾ The Society made a significant contribution to the training of the colonial ministry. There is even evidence of the Society's lay agents conducting weddings under episcopal licence, and women being appointed pastors with the same functions as deacons.^(A) The development of the colonial ministry depended entirely, at first, on the sending and training of candidates from the Church at home.

VI.2. The Society's contribution to the History of Anglicanism Abroad

The foregoing history of the CCCS not only indicates the causes and course of the work, but also suggests the main lines of its influence throughout the world. Without doubt the Victorian period was an age of revolution. In 1823, (the year the Society was founded) the railway, the steamboat and the telephone did not exist, the larger portion of the world was still unexplored, and the British 'Empire' a mere fraction of its eventual size. Slavery still existed, the Reform Bill and democracy were still of the future, and in the Church the prince bishop, pluralist and absentee rector held the day. The Industrial Revolution gathered momentum after the end of the Napoleonic wars and with it the broadening of the horizons. The expansion of Empire carried with it the expansion of the English Church - and of that Church the CCCS was the handmaid! The Society's influence grew as it laid the foundations of civilization and ecclesiastical organization. It occupied a field of labour where it could do much good which other societies like the SPG were unwilling or unable to do. The CCCS has given direct aid to over seventy dioceses of the world, and it is still the only Society in the whole of the Anglican Communion whose sole task it is to provide ministry for English-speaking people away from home.

The Society was not only concerned with the emigrant and the settler, but with the Englishman wherever he went for short or long periods,^(B) the sailor in the foreign port, the gold-seeker in Australia, the labourer on the continental railway, the traveller for health or pleasure - all shared its care and protection. It claimed that it was the pioneer to 'direct' missionary work by the Church - to evangelize our own countrymen abroad was to remove one of the stumbling blocks to the progress of Christianity through-out the world. It made grants-in-aid for ministry to spiritually

'destitute' settlements on a reducing basis, and this promoted self-help. Money so released was transferred to other work. Much of this was unspectacular work: the establishment of missionary districts, the drawing together of a congregation, the raising of a minister's stipend and building a church. In this the Societies - and the C&CCS in particular - had to take the initiative. But not until G.E. Lloyd accompanied the Britannia Colony were clergy sent concurrently with settlement. The Society was responsible for the establishment of many congregations - possibly some thousands!^(A) Examples of its pioneering activity can be cited in its City Mission work (Montreal), Church Railway Saloon (Soudan), the 'Flying Parson' and the 'Anglican Flying Medical Services' (Australia); its ministry of women including the Bible Womens Mission (Montreal), the Bush deaconesses (Australia) and pastors (Canada); its catechists and deacon-schoolmasters; its Sunday School by Post in Canada, Australia, East Africa and Europe; its promotion of daughter societies like the Sabrevois Mission to French Roman Catholics, the Fugitive Slave Mission, the Bush Church-Aid Society; and the establishment of a second Anglican bishopric for Europe (now 'Fulham').

The Society sent clergy and catechists to the colonies and to British residents and travellers in other parts of the world, but it is clear that the indigenous peoples and other resident groups in the colonies were included in the mandate. Ministry was provided, for example, for the Indians and Indo-Canadians, the French Roman Catholics, the negroes, the Esquimaux, Central European refugees in Canada and Newfoundland, the Aborigines of Australia and the Polynesians, Japanese and Chinese who had business in Australian waters, the Anglo-Indians and Tamils in India, and the Germans in South Africa. A resolution of the Diocesan Synod of North Queensland (Australia) quoted in the 1908 Report⁽¹⁾ is typical of many testimonials: 'This Synod desires to express their indebtedness to the Colonial and Continental Church Society for their generous and sympathetic care for the spiritual welfare of the settlers in the Diocese.' Warre Cornish recognized this contribution in writing that in aiming to bring 'spiritual help to British emigrants in distant and unsettled stations, where few clergymen ever come (it) has...done good work.'⁽²⁾

The Society considered that its pioneer Educational work, including the elementary education of children and adults, and the training of teachers, clergy and other Christian workers, to be an auxiliary of its pioneer church work. By 1846 the NSS had become the principal Colonial School Society, and it pioneered 'popular' education in Newfoundland which was recognized in the Newfoundland Education Act of 1874. Principal and Branch Schools

had been established for the 'destitute', and the principal schools soon became training schools for branch school teachers. By 1844, long before state help was forthcoming, the School in St. John's, Newfoundland became a Training College. This, of course, was bound to have its impact on public opinion. Other Colleges followed in places like Savrevois, Halifax and Montreal, and this latter College became associated with M'Gill College and University when the latter was founded, and it is now the Institute of Education of M'Gill University.⁽¹⁾

The development of theological education not only resulted from the great need of trained workers which the Church at home could not supply, but also from the need, which they felt, for Evangelicals to train their own men. They considered the growth of ritualism and rationalism to be a challenge to them and the Society sought to maintain abroad the orthodox Reformed Faith as against the new movements and though they were thought to be narrow in outlook (exclusive and anti-scientific), it was their conviction that the ministry they sought to provide was that best calculated to meet the spiritual needs of the English-speaking people as a whole, including non-conformists and Americans! This training therefore they did their best to provide. Candidates were trained in the West Indies and Malta as well as Canada and Australia. The Society is or has been associated with (that is in founding or substantially aiding) the Huron Theological College (now the Western University, London, Ontario) - the first Evangelical College in Canada; Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, now part of the University of Saskatoon; Latimer Hall, Vancouver; the French Missionary College at Sabrevois; St. Columb's Hall, Wangaratta, Sale Divinity Hostel, Ridley College, Melbourne and Moore College, Sydney. The leaders of the Society's work responded to the needs of the pioneer areas for advanced education - they were often men of strong personality, sound learning and wide vision. Frequently, before state aid was forthcoming they took the initiative with regard to further education and so influenced public opinion. Centres of higher learning simply did not exist until the pioneers took action - see, for example, page 65 for the development of teacher training programmes. Dr. Hellmuth founded Huron Theological College in 1863 and became its first principal (see page 68). Sixteen years later, after he had become Bishop of Huron, he saw the need of a University on the European model, and on Evangelical lines, and was the driving force behind the founding of the Western University, London, Ontario in 1879 (see page 97). Emmanuel College was founded in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in that year, too by Bishop John McLean, to train

catechists for Indian work. Three years later he obtained for it a charter as the University of Saskatchewan. After McLean's death in 1887 the vision failed for twenty years until Bishop Newnham revived the charter and G.E. Lloyd came to England to raise candidates for their 'Saskatchewan Plan'. Two years later (in 1909) a Provincial University was set up by the State Legislature in Saskatoon, and Emmanuel College moved from Prince Albert to Saskatoon, and became affiliated to the new University. Henceforth the Theological College (itself a University) no longer needed to provide 'Arts' teaching and an agreement was reached that it would establish only the Faculty of Theology (see pp. 101, 104f, 160 Note A). Arts teaching was part of the curriculum for the training for orders and, though properly supplied by a University, since Universities did not exist, the leaders of the Society's work founded their own! There is no suggestion, however, that they ever intended to found all faculties,^(A) not least because of the immense financial involvement that that would entail. Pioneers did not have that kind of money at their disposal. But when the State moved - prompted by their initiatives (?) - they were only too willing to co-operate.

The Society was an outgrowth of the Evangelical movement, and to its Evangelical principles it adhered throughout. G.W. Bromily wrote in an appendix to G.R. Balleine's 'History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England', 'it is scarcely too much to claim that the recognized Evangelical Societies have carried the main burden of the Church's missionary work and have been the biggest single factor in the growth of the Anglican Communion overseas.'⁽¹⁾ The Bishop of Algoma (Canada) wrote in 1902, 'we look for spiritual results which are far harder to discern and describe. Looking over the Society's sphere of work...we find abundant reason to believe that those spiritual results are not wanting.'⁽²⁾ He was referring to the Evangelical emphasis on conversion.

We have seen that the Society had some influence on public opinion (regarding, for example, education in Newfoundland) and in public affairs seen in its relations with the Colonial and Foreign Offices. It was also a witness to Protestant truth in Europe, and gave encouragement through its chaplains to foreign Protestant work (for example, to the Maltese, Italian and Spanish work).

Though the annual income was comparatively small, still, by the system of grants-in-aid, its influence reached much further than might be supposed, and the Society can claim quite fairly to have had a large share in planting the Church of England in many countries. The ultimate destiny of all pioneering work is for it to become redundant as the frontiers of progress extend. The fulfilment of this destiny is the ultimate proof

of the effectiveness of any pioneering action. Colonial expansion ceased effectively in 1945, and the former dependencies gradually became self-governing Dominions. The episcopal Church organizations assumed responsibility for their own work, and we have seen a gradual withdrawal by the Society. We are compelled to ask does the C&CCS have a future, or is its work finished? Its labours have been but an expansion of the home missionary operation, but there are signs of a renewed expansion of English-speaking people, in Europe especially. The Society brought ecclesiastical order to nineteenth century Europe by its insistence that its men obtain the licence of the Bishop of London or Gibraltar. It is the Society's conviction that in relation to this new dispersion it still has an effective rôle to play as an Evangelical Society.

VI.3. The Rôle of the Commonwealth and Continental Church Society in the Contemporary World

The Church of England is in crisis. Christianity is no longer the religion of a great majority of people in the western world, and the Church has become a tolerated relic rather than an active contemporary force.⁽¹⁾ It is absent from the creative and dynamic centres of Society (science and technology, politics and economics, industry, production and planning).⁽²⁾ Religion is removed from the public to the private sector of life, and what it says and does no longer agitates the core of the community.⁽³⁾ This crisis 'has to do with secularization, which is not only a theory about what is happening to human society but in some hands a doctrine about what ought to happen to the christian faith.'⁽⁴⁾ What is secularism? A.M. Ramsay summarizes its basic assumptions as the rejection of the supernatural elements of religion in favour of temporal and material considerations, and the idea of self-sufficient autonomous modern man whose knowledge of the 'real' world is derived from scientific experiment through reason, ignoring the profound questions of being and destiny.⁽⁵⁾

Secularization has played a prominent part in theological discussion since Gogarten (1953 onwards) and Metz began to influence the thinking of Harvey Cox.⁽⁶⁾ Ramsay quotes 'The Secular City' by Cox as the most influential instance of a moderate presentation of the view⁽⁷⁾ that secularism is the logical consequence of the Christian faith and does not dissolve it. The 'death of God' theologians consider it to be a purification of Christianity and not a prelude to its demise.⁽⁸⁾ but the Archbishop rightly asks if technological man really is to be taken as a criterion of what man

is to become ?⁽¹⁾

No doubt we are on the threshold of a second great social-automotive - revolution. Industrialization and urbanization associated with the population explosion, increased mobility of labour, the development of the science of cybernetics, and increased speed of communications, have produced a new kind of man who is more rapidly becoming estranged from traditional patterns of life.⁽²⁾ We live in the west in an affluent and comfortable world, yet there is a persistent unhappiness or anxiety about modern man that is unmistakable. Crime and corruption, neuroses, heart disease and breakdown of marriage are on the increase, human freedom is being eroded and the individual is being depersonalized in mass society.⁽³⁾

Are we in what Langmead Casserley calls the 'last dark age of disillusion' ?⁽⁴⁾ Secular man is groping in the dark, searching for a meaning to life beyond 'reality'. In a recent book Professor Rookmaaker^(A) concludes, 'man became "natural", and lost his particular place in the cosmos...The world had become a closed box, and man was caught in that box.'⁽⁵⁾ Yet he concludes, 'man will always remain human, for he cannot change his own created being...he can never be happy with the fact that he is "caught in the box"...and so he wants to escape.'⁽⁶⁾

It was Existentialism that really grappled with this problem of modern man. It has already been noticed that Existentialism was a reaction against reason (see p.14) and sought to re-establish the significance of subjective experience. Man is trying to evade the logic of the principle of secularism by searching for his true self, true humanity and true freedom through irrationality and mysticism. The Existentialist says he will find this if he transcends his human condition; he can find reality beyond reality through irrationality.⁽⁷⁾ Thus he splits the field of knowledge. But man is, in fact, no better off! He is still in a secular world without God and so is driven to despair. Mid-century secular Existentialist writers like Jean-Paul Sartre accept, even grasp, the consequences of God being dead: the absurdity and meaninglessness of life - man is reduced to irreconcilable pessimism. As Leslie Paul says, 'behind the technological façade the most desolating and destructive doctrine of man grows up - that finally he is an expendable scrap, a nothing, which no-one values, least of all man himself.'⁽⁸⁾

This pre-evangelistic atmosphere is favourable to the presentation of the Gospel. We could be on the threshold of a renewal of the Church! But what has the Church to say ? Langmead Casserley refers to theologies of panic which 'improvise a fresh Gospel and a new theology in order to

meet the necessities of the changing situation. The fashionable modernisms and liberalisms of the time seem to suppose that the fault lies neither in ourselves nor even necessarily in our institutions, but in our basic message to mankind.' But, he continues, 'in our day the trouble is not so much that the Gospel is irrelevant to life as that life is irrelevant to reality and to the purposes of God. When men seek God the Gospel is relevant. When men long for justice and righteousness...the Gospel is relevant.'⁽¹⁾

Here the Evangelical would agree. If we are to be an active contemporary force we must have a sufficient analysis of man's true situation. We must live according to the 'given' structures of reality, which implies the acceptance of God and the supernatural as part of the world that is. The Evangelical would say that the Biblical system of thought gives us a satisfactory explanation of what is: of what we know about ourselves and of the world around us, including those aspects of the nature of man that science cannot explain - of our capacity to love and to be loved, of our appreciation of beauty, of a conviction of personal responsibility, of a desire for identity, meaning, true humanity and freedom. A unified field of knowledge is possible on the basis of scriptural views of God, man and the world. Leslie Paul remarks,

'the transcendence of God is the most powerful element in the explanation of Christianity...[it] has always conceived of God as "separate" from his creation. It is this concept which has taken the hardest of knocks from the new theology (A).'

But, he continues, 'it is this which has made it the shaker of the foundations of the world...it presented an Absolute to the world.'⁽²⁾ In other words there is a sufficient content to the Faith to appeal to the reason of man.

At a public meeting in 1821, England's Prime Minister referred to our duty to present this absolute to the world of our own people overseas. A listener then saw how this could be realized in the case of Newfoundland, and consequently founded an educational Society which survives today as the Commonwealth and Continental Church Society. Nothing has changed! The Englishman still travels or lives abroad, his need of the Gospel remains, and provision of this ministry in certain parts of the world is still the responsibility of the Church at home - and is still an extension of its ministry. But today we face a new, if somewhat broader, expansion of the English-speaking people. Commerce, industry and education allied with faster means of transport and greater wealth are leading to a permeation of the English-speaking people of the world throughout the world. 'Colonial' dependencies have matured into a Commonwealth of independent nations and their Churches have, as we have said, assumed responsibility for their own

'home' missions. Yet a Continent like Europe is beginning to open up in a new way to English-speaking communities. Commerce, industry, technological expertise and openings for professional men draw them from Britain, the Commonwealth and the USA. With them come their families. To these we must add the elderly, the chronically sick, accident victims, prisoners, school children, students, 'au pairs' and tourists. The common denominator with all of them is the English language.

Now men do not always know their real needs in spiritual as well as they do in temporal things, and may have no sense of the importance of ministry. The priority of the C&CCS in our contemporary world must be to ensure that these people are not lost sight of. Many do not remain long enough to master the foreign language sufficiently to be reached by or to become involved in a foreign language church. Frequently, where no ministry is provided, our own people are deprived of ministry entirely! The Society was born out of the Evangelical conviction that our world's chief need is for the presence of God, and that this ministry is best supplied by those who go as 'ambassadors for Christ' to appeal for the reconciliation of man to God.

The Society's intention in the nineteenth century was to become the principal Church Society appealing to the whole Evangelical body of the Church of England for Evangelical missions to our own people (as the CMS was the principal Evangelical Society to gain support for the heathen). This aim was substantially realized. The C&CCS is still the only Society in the whole of the Anglican Communion whose sole task it is to provide ministry to the English-speaking expatriates of the world throughout the world. This vision is still its only *raison d'être*! This is the positive goal for action!

Therefore careful research needs to be undertaken to assess and predict the real 'areas' of need, and this must result in a more flexible and imaginative approach of chaplaincy work, a more systematic application of the principle of self-help (grants on a reducing basis to foster independence which will enable a much wider influence to be exercised), a re-development of the 'Sunday School by Post' to reach isolated families where it is impracticable to send chaplains, and a more energetic undertaking of 'seasonal' ministry. Ministry to tourists is potentially the last great field of opportunity left to the Church of England. Increased leisure time and greater affluence have given rise to the growth of foreign tourism,^(A) and this is accelerating. For many years christian holidays have been a recognized part of Church life for children and young people, but the Church of England as a whole has not entered the field of adult leisure time opportunity. The C&CCS, and through it a comparatively small number of churches in Britain, has sustained a ministry to tourists since 1844 when Interlaken was opened as a summer 'station'. The parent Societies

were both founded by christian laymen, and the existence of an independent voluntary Society ought still to provide opportunities for christian laymen to exercise a ministry abroad among our own people. A ministry to tourists would seem to be just what is required.

It would seem that the Society would find a continuing usefulness in two further directions. First, to the English-speaking churches abroad by becoming more effectively a pastoral-aid Society. That is, to offer assistance in materials, advice, manpower and training to strengthen the spiritual life and witness of the churches. Second, by establishing a Church Information Centre at home for those travelling or emigrating for short or long periods, and for those wishing to exercise a ministry abroad. A start has already been made with the issue, for a number of years now, of the Directory of English-speaking Churches in Europe, North Africa and the Near East. This will strengthen links with the Church at home to which many will eventually return.

By the very nature of its work, the Society is brought into touch with foreign-language Churches, other home-based Organizations (of all denominations) working in the same field, and international councils - like the World and European Council of Churches. Here is an open door for ecumenical participation. Evangelicals from the end of the 18th century have considered co-operation between christians of different denominations to be a normal and natural part of the christian life, and the formation of the Evangelical Alliance might be cited as an example of this spirit.⁽¹⁾ During the 19th century the Society and its agents took initiatives to encourage Continental Protestant Churches in their witness to the Reformed Faith. Evangelicals ought no longer to be satisfied with the 'invisible' church ideal, as real as that is, but they ought to take the initiative in drawing together the christians of those Churches which accept the World Council's basis of faith, in a visible 'regional' unity. Unity need not of necessity involve uniformity of worship or even government as the Evangelicals have shown. Though it is difficult to see how a basically foreign language group could be integrated into a regional church, say in Europe, yet it is not simply expedient, but right, to draw together.

An independent Society taking these initiatives may not be altogether popular, not least because of its positive Evangelicalism. But Evangelicals in the 1970s do want to make a contribution to missions among our own people abroad within the framework of the Church of England. The Society's history in the 19th century is sufficient to show both that they are loyal churchmen and that they are capable of making a real impact - and the Church owes them a great debt. The Evangelicals have honourable intentions, they wish to co-operate. Is it too much to be hoped in the 1970s that their presence will be welcomed at policy-making level, and their contribution regarded as aiding, and not interfering with, the work of the Church today ?

Footnotes

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- A. Up to 1841 only 10 colonial bishoprics had been created, but between 1841-51 the number of new ones rose to 14. (Cnattingius, Bishops and Societies, p.202)
- B. The Oxford Movement was influenced by the American Church idea that the bishop was part of the pioneer force sent to organize the church. Here was a missionary bishop sent forth by the Church, not called forth of the church. (Cnattingius, *ibid*, pp.201f) See p.28, note B.

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- A. 1. The Bishop expresses - by granting or withholding his licence, in which the sphere of the missionary's labour is mentioned - his approbation, or otherwise, of that location. 2. The Bishop superintends the missionaries afterwards, as the other clergy, in the discharge of their ecclesiastical duties. 3. The Bishop receives from those - the Committee and the Secretary - who still stand in the relation of Lay-Patrons to the Missionary, such communications respecting his ecclesiastical duties as may enable the Bishop to discharge that paternal superintendence to the best advantage. 4. If the Bishop or Archdeacon fills, at the request of the Society, the offices of Patron, President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, etc. he receives, further, all such confidential information on all topics, as the Bishops officially neither could wish nor properly ask (to receive). (Stock, The History of the CMS, vol.I, p.423 - quoted by Cnattingius, *op cit*, p.176)

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- A. Minute 4,462 of the CCSS (23 December 1851) referring to correspondence with the Bishop of Montreal (Fulford) states that the powers claimed by the Society were exercised by Church Societies at home which enjoyed the patronage of a large body of English bishops. As the Society provided for the salaries of its agents it should have satisfactory proof of their qualifications. It was the universal practice in England to locate masters and catechists without licence, and colonial bishops could not claim powers greater than those of the bishops at home. The clause respecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction secured to the bishops 'all necessary and legitimate authority.' The issue of the bishop's licence gave him the right of veto on a proposed field of labour, but the Society is bound in justice to its subscribers to retain the right to fix and guarantee stipends so that clergy were not dependent upon their diocesan.

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- A. Richardson (the CCS agent in Nova Scotia) wrote on 4 January 1841 that the Bishop had threatened to advise the SPG to withhold the stipends of any clergy co-operating with him or the CCS. (Min.937, CCS, 19 January 1841) This was the point of the CCS insistence on paying its agents !
- B. The Bishop became President of the Corresponding Committee; that Committee (appointed annually from the members of the Diocesan Church Society - many of whom were CCSS members) had the entire management of the affairs subject to the approval of the parent Committee; official communications with agents were signed by the Bishop or chairman; the Corresponding Committee had power to nominate additional members subject to the approval of the parent Committee; and no catechist or school-master was to be employed without the consent of the clergy in whose parish they were to operate. (Min.4,771, CCSS, 1 June 1852)
- C. A bye-law, number 16 (see Appendix C, p.183) concerning the ornaments was accepted by Committee on 10 March 1903.

- D. Passage deleted from the Memorandum but placed in a covering letter. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 6 February 1906)

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- A. The Bishop of Fulham stated to the Committee in July 1959 that the proposal was that Christ Church, Brussels should cease to be a Society chaplaincy (Min.General Committee, C&CCS, 21 July 1959), and that the Bishop of London should become the sole patron. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 16 January and 20 March 1958)
- B. Acceptance of the proposal (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 21 November 1957); of the transfer of patronage to the Bishop of London (ibid, 17 April 1958); a pledge of intention to the Bishop of Fulham (ibid, 19 July 1958); the offer of an unrestricted licence for the use of the buildings (ibid, 7 January 1959); and de-dozinization of the vestments that they proposed to use in Christ Church (ibid, 12 February 1959).
- C. 11 August 1958. (Min.General Committee, C&CCS, 28 April 1959)
- D. The Trustees understood that the Society would control the buildings. (Min.General Committee, C&CCS, 28 April 1959)

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- A. 'Among the missionary institutions of an evangelical colour the Colonial and Continental Church Society must not be forgotten.' (Warre Cornish, The History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century, vol.II, p.211)

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- A. The following extended quotations suggest that this is so:
1. 'We wish to send none who do not fully preach those great doctrines of the Gospel - the total corruption of our nature - salvation through the atoning sacrifice of Christ - justification by grace through faith alone, without works - the necessity of personal holiness, and separation from the ungodly practices of the world - and the final judgement, with all the other important truths contained in the Thirty-nine Articles.' (OP, CCS, 12, c.1846, p.3; CCR, CCS, I, no 6, Jan.1839, p.81)
 2. 'Resolved that the object of the Committee being the appointment, wherever practicable, of clergymen of sound Church of England principles and decidedly Evangelical views, it will be necessary for Mr -- to satisfy the Committee on both these points, before they can give their sanction to his appointment.' (Min.1,311, CCS, 6 April 1842)
 3. 'The foundations of this institution were originally based on the avowed determination that all its missionaries should be members of the Church of England, who...were persons of sound doctrinal views; and earnest Evangelical piety. To this determination your Committee feel that it is now [1849], more than ever, necessary most strictly to adhere. The errors which are abroad can never be met by men who give an "uncertain sound". To make christian teaching effectual, there must be, on the part of every missionary, a distinct declaration of the total corruption of our nature, justification by faith alone, without works, and the necessity of a vital change of heart in all.' (1849 Report, CCS, pp.52f)
 4. 'The Committee determined [1860] to engage none but attached members of the Church of England sound on the foundation doctrines (atoning blood of our Lord...and the converting and sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost, as revealed in the inspired word of God). (1860 Report, CCSS, p.35)
- B. The Questionnaire was drawn up by an ad-hoc sub-committee of the CCS in 1842 (Min.1,296, CCS, 1 March 1842) and placed in the Report for that year (1842 Report, CCS, p.x). This information was required from all candidates whether clergy, catechists or schoolmasters.

- C. Questions 1-10 concerned only personal matters.
- D. HW Webb-Peploe (St Paul's, Onslow Square), John Barton (Holy Trinity, Cambridge), HE Fox (St Nicholas', Durham), GF Head (Christ Church, Hampstead), H Sharpe (Holy Trinity, South Hampstead) and N Vickers (St John's, Kings Lynn). (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 2 January 1889) An earlier attempt had been made by them in 1877 (see pp.113f)

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- A. A letter from Mr CW Robbins (Robbins, Olivey and Lake, Solicitors), 19 August 1971.

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- B. Examples of the unitary system of missionary organization are: the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide of the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Scotland, the Methodist Church, the Moravian Church, the Church of Sweden Mission. The London Missionary Society is the recognized agency of the Congregational Union but is autonomous, and the Baptist Missionary Society is independent of the Baptist Union but its officers are ex-officio members of the Baptist Union Council. Examples within the Anglican Church are the PECUSA and the Church of Canada. Australia and New Zealand have adopted the unitary principle in part. The Church of England has 11 officially recognized Societies: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (union of SPG and Universities Mission to Central Africa), Church Missionary Society, Church's Ministry to the Jews, C&CCS, South American Missionary Society, Missions to Seamen, Melanesian Mission, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, Jerusalem and the East Mission and the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society. However, in addition there are 50 auxiliaries and associate societies. (These are listed in the Appendix to the Report 'Growing Together' pp.60ff)

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- A. Balleine remarked that lay-helpers (proposed by the Church Pastoral-Aid Society) were opposed by the Bishop of Exeter (Philpotts) who wrote to his Archdeacon that it was 'contrary to the practice of all christian antiquity and of our own branch of Christ's Church in particular, and malous, pregnant with mischief and perils of the gravest kind.' (A History of the Evangelical Party of the Church of England, p.141)

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- A. Mr Pitcher (Battle Harbour, Newfoundland Labrador) married under government licence and with the approval of his diocesan. (1901 Report, CCCS, p.68) Deaconess Jones (Nican, Saskatchewan) was appointed by Bishop Lloyd as pastor. (1922 Report, CCCS, pp.45,72) See p.129, note B.
- B. The Society has worked in the following Continents or countries arranged in order according to the date of entry: Newfoundland (1823), Australia (1835), British North America (1838), Europe (1839), West Indies (1841), India (1848), Rupertsland - then the gateway to the West of Canada - (1852), British Columbia (1858), Pacific and Indian Ocean islands (1859), New Zealand (1869), Egypt (1882), East Africa (1901), West Africa (1923), Japan (1926). Seamen's missions were opened in Malta (1846), China (1849), Calcutta (1852), Mauritius (1854), Quebec (1855), Sierre Leone and Constantinople (1860), Boulogne (1868).

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- A. A private letter from the Rev. MR Kingsford, Madoc, Ontario, Canada, 25 May 1970. This only referred to Canada, so that this estimate would be considerably swelled taking into account the pioneer work throughout the world.

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- A. 'In May, 1883, the Governor-General in Council sanctioned the Act (46 Vict. cap. 47) to establish and incorporate the University of Saskatchewan, and to authorize the establishment of Colleges within the Diocese of Saskatchewan.' (1927 Calendar of Emmanuel College) Powers were given to confer degrees in all Faculties provided by the statutes. At the 1908 Synod in Saskatoon, Bishop Newnam said, 'I have a strong hope that before another Synod meets the Provincial University will be located here...and that we shall no longer have to maintain a small unaided Church University...but that on honourable terms we shall be able to merge ours in theirs, and thus to establish our Theological College more firmly as a Faculty of the Provincial University, and so carry out the spirit of the far-sighted policy of...John McLean.' (Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, pp. 162, 296) This illustrates the policy of the founders of these 'Church Universities.'

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- A. HR Rookmaaker is Professor of the History of Art in the Free University of Amsterdam. In his book 'Modern Art and the Death of a Culture' (1970) he says that the seventeenth century view of the world, influenced by the Reformation, was of a God-given ordered structure (i.e. accepting God and the supernatural as part of the given reality) in which man is the crown, though not the centre of creation. As the Reformation receded and humanism advanced, the principles of the rationalist 'Enlightenment' took hold. 'What started in the philosopher's study is now in the hearts and minds of the whole western world.' Man became 'God' and mechanistic science became the tool of revelation but of a reduced reality (the world without God). (pp. 41, 46) This culture, Rookmaaker asserts, is dying.

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- A. 'Honest to God' by JAT Robinson popularized the 'secularist' view with its objections to spacial metaphors like 'out there' and its reference to the 'ground of our being'.

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- A. In 1971, 5.75 million people resident in Britain took holidays abroad, and the total number of holidays abroad has quadrupled since 1951. (British National Travel Survey 1971 produced by the Research Services of the British Travel Association)

APPENDIX ASurvey of the Movements of the Colonial^(A) and Continental Church Society,
1951-71

The Church in Canada had taken responsibility for the help formerly given by the CCCS by 1952 - except for the Caron-Herbert Mission,^(B) the Arctic and the Sunday School by Post in Saskatchewan and Saskatoon. Emmanuel College, Saskatoon became self-supporting in 1954^(C) but bursaries were still to be given to students in training.⁽¹⁾ The CCCS was still to secure ordinands for the missionary areas of Western Canada.⁽²⁾ It is worth noting the fact that by 1955, in spite of the Church in many areas being hardly more than a generation old, fifty percent of the College's membership was Canadian! However, fifty-eight men were still needed in fifteen dioceses.⁽³⁾ In 1961 Emmanuel College men were required to give one year of service in a missionary diocese for every year of training received.⁽⁴⁾ Dr. Dean, the Principal of Emmanuel College, was elected Bishop of Cariboo in 1956,^{(5)(D)} and a year later the Jubilee year of the 'Sixty' was celebrated. In those fifty years four hundred men had been trained at the College.⁽⁶⁾ Two years later the Sunday School by Post had become the Sunday School by Post and Radio.⁽⁷⁾

The Bishop of Huron (G.N. Luxton) wrote in 1957 to ask if the Society would relinquish the right of veto on the appointment of Principal owing to certain changes in the constitution of the ^{Huron} College. But the Society's solicitor confirmed that it could not relinquish its Trusteeship of the Peache Fund as requested by the Bishop.⁽⁸⁾

A new development took place in the BC-AS in Australia in 1952. It was decided to build a radio station at Ceduna as a communications centre for the Flying Medical Services^(E) hitherto a telephone service. Plans and equipment were approved by the Paymaster General's Department and the wavelengths were allocated.⁽⁹⁾ Transceivers were installed at Cook and Tarcoola Hospitals, and the first contact was made from the control station on 7 August 1953.⁽¹⁰⁾ Within five years 1,000 consultations were held annually by radio telephone.⁽¹¹⁾ Later a fishing boat network was added, and then a radio school in co-operation with the State Education department in 1956. Within six years it had grown to 100 stations with thirteen separate traffic handling and school sessions daily.⁽¹²⁾ In 1960 there were sixty workers in the BC-AS (clergy, doctors, nurses, pilots, chemist, dentist, radio officer and social, educational and Sunday school personnel).⁽¹³⁾ In 1964 the radio station was modernized to provide two studios, and then there were twenty-four medical and general traffic sessions and fifteen school sessions weekly, and thirty children on the radio school of the air.

There were 150 outpost stations.⁽¹⁾ The Flying Medical Service incorporated a dental centre at its base at Ceduna under Mr. Jauncey between 1959-62.⁽²⁾ In 1959 new regulations required a change in the type of aircraft used and a Cessna 210 (VH-FMS) was operational by December 1960.⁽³⁾ By this time Alan Chadwick had completed twenty-one years as pilot.⁽⁴⁾ A second Cessna 210 (VH-AEC) was bought in 1962 and Mr. John Lundridge appointed second pilot.⁽⁵⁾ On 14 December 1967, the Council of the BC-AS decided to close the Flying Medical Service because it had achieved its work as a pioneer. The Royal Flying Medical Service had been developed and was willing to extend its work from Fort Augusta, South Australia to cover those within the BC-AS network, and to be responsible for it from 15 February 1968.⁽⁶⁾ In consequence the Ambulance station operated by the BC-AS in the Ceduna area for twelve years was transferred to the St. John's Ambulance Brigade in December 1967.⁽⁷⁾

In 1956 the bishops as a whole invited the BC-AS to undertake responsibility for the future development of the Church in the diocese of the North-West. The Organizing Missioner toured the area extensively where there was only one bishop and one other clergyman, and presented a plan to be the responsibility of the whole Church.⁽⁸⁾ An appeal was launched for £12,000 in Australia and for four men.⁽⁹⁾ The BC-AS opened up new work in March 1957 in Port Hedland (the Rev. and Mrs. D.M. Douglass), and in the far North-West and at Mount Magnet, Murchison (the Rev. C.W. Rich),^(A) both from Sydney.⁽¹⁰⁾ Three years earlier the Bishop of Tasmania had invited the BC-AS to minister to 4,000 employees at a hydro-electric scheme up in the mountains at Tarraleah, and this began in March 1955.⁽¹¹⁾ Though the scheme in question was completed in 1966, the BC-AS was back again in Tasmania in 1971 in the mining areas of the west coast.⁽¹²⁾

The organizing Missioner (T.E. Jones)^(B) was elected Bishop of Willochra in 1958, and in September of that year the BC-AS, previously housed in Church House, Sydney, moved into its own premises in 135 Bathurst Street.⁽¹³⁾ In 1966 the charter of the Australian Board of Missions was broadened to enable it to help missionary dioceses in Australia as well as the aboriginal and islands work. The problem of co-ordinating the home mission work was discussed and the Missionary and Ecumenical Council asked the BC-AS to investigate the needs of the Bush dioceses in 1968, and especially 'if it is prepared to consider becoming the Society primarily responsible for missionary work in the Australian outback.'⁽¹⁴⁾ The work grew, and in 1971, the Rev.G.B. Muston (Organizing Missioner 1968-71) was elected assistant Bishop of Melbourne.⁽¹⁵⁾ In that year the BC-AS was working in nine dioceses.⁽¹⁶⁾

In East Africa this was a period of nation building. It was the last great chance to serve the interests of dependent peoples. Young European technologists could influence the course of history, if the European goes without Christianity the Europeanized African will follow him. The chaplain at Kongwa (Tanganika) reported that the English-speaking African from other parts of Africa does not always fit into an African congregation - for example, the Ugandans who do not speak Swahili. These are best ministered to by European chaplains.⁽¹⁾ The Society supported chaplains in Mount Kenya, Nairobi District, Nyanza, West Aberdare, Uasin Gishu, Iringa (Tanganika) and Tororo (Uganda) to enable our people to bear witness to Europeanized Africans.⁽²⁾ In the West Aberdare chaplaincy of the Rev. D. Howes the Anglican African and European congregations united on 4 December 1955, and became one parish sharing buildings and church life, and with equal status on committees. Here is co-operation with the indigenous church, and a similar scheme was prepared for Nakuru.⁽³⁾ The European was in a powerful position to help to train African clergy (who were largely rural-orientated) to tackle the new problems of industrialization in the towns. The Society assisted, for example, the Rev. G. Mayo as Canon Missioner to Mombasa Diocese in Nairobi.⁽⁴⁾ Two years later (1958) a new type of missionary work presented itself: the Rev. S. Beesley (formerly chaplain in Kongwa) was offered the chaplaincy of a government school^(A) in Iringa. Here was an open door during the transition between church and government education systems, and he taught twenty-one Scripture and eleven Swahili lessons weekly.⁽⁵⁾ In the following year the Nairobi hospitals^(B) chaplaincy was set up to serve Africans, Asians and Europeans throughout Kenya.⁽⁶⁾ In January 1962 the first African and Asian entered Limuru School, and a two-stream annual intake was planned to increase the numbers from 160 to 280. Science as well as arts subjects were to be offered to University standard, and grants were to be received from the government and Inter-Church Aid. The Society funded a physics and maths mistress as well as offering bursaries to clergy daughters.⁽⁷⁾ But gradually over the next few years posts were Africanized.^{(8)(C)}

For the first time for many years the Society supported work outside the Commonwealth and Europe in making a grant of £500 annually to the Rev. H. C. Gurney in Teheran among the growing English and American communities.⁽⁹⁾

The Bishop of Fulham (G. E. Ingle) suggested in October 1950 a re-organization of some of the European chaplaincies.⁽¹⁰⁾ One new feature was that south-west France would be worked by a chaplain appointed jointly by

the CCCS and the SPG.⁽¹⁾ This marked the beginning of chaplaincy work which covered wide areas to minister to small and scattered communities.⁽²⁾ In 1961, through the growth of the work, there came a European and General Sunday School by Post appointment (Miss A. Wade). The Bishop of Fulham (R.N. Coote) requested that she include all of his jurisdiction in her field of service, and commended her to all the chaplaincies.⁽³⁾ A revival of the interest in a scheme for a separate Bishopric for Europe began in December 1966.^(A)

On the initiative of Bishop Bayne (then Bishop in charge of the Convocation of American Churches in Europe^(B)) representatives of the three jurisdictions (Gibraltar, Fulham and the American) met in Brussels to discuss the co-ordination of their activities.⁽⁴⁾ This led to the setting up of the 'Anglican Advisory Council' in Europe^(C) to concern itself with joint planning and discussion of problems involved in the creation of a single Anglican presence in Europe. The Council met in London in April 1967 under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Gibraltar (S. Eley).⁽⁵⁾ Bishop Bayne and the Bishop of Fulham (A.F.B. Rogers) planned a joint conference for 1969 long before the 1968 Lambeth Conference⁽⁶⁾ which gave the movement a greater impetus with its sharp resolution deploring the existence of parallel Jurisdictions in Europe, and suggesting the direction in which it felt the future lay.^(D) In April 1969 a further impetus was given at the joint conference at Ostend (the Gibraltar diocese was represented by the Bishop and two Archdeacons). Bishop G.A. Van Kleef (the Old Catholic Bishop of Haarlem) presented the need of 'union',⁽⁷⁾ and the mandate 'to move with all deliberate speed toward the unification under one jurisdiction' was considered by the Bishops concerned at Fulham Palace in the following August.⁽⁸⁾ The Anglican Advisory Council met in October that year to consider the question of the independent, and in certain cases parallel, Jurisdictions in the light of Lambeth and Ostend - here was authority from the top and bottom!⁽⁹⁾ A memorandum from the vestry of American Pro-Cathedral in Paris formed the basis of the discussion. It favoured the creation of an Anglican diocese as soon as possible with a team ministry of bishops and priests. The report concluded with certain recommendations and resolutions to the Joint Conference to be held at Canterbury in April 1970.^{(10)(E)} A Sub-committee was appointed to consider the financial position of the jurisdictions and prepare estimates for the future, and to present these to the Council in January 1970.⁽¹¹⁾ But owing to the sudden death of the Bishop of Gibraltar immediately prior to the April Conference, the Council met again at the conference to reconsider their proposals. The re-framed proposals^(F) which were to involve no legal changes during the transition period were then presented to the Assembly.

Concern was expressed at the Canterbury conference whether two bishops would be sufficient for pastoral oversight, and whether there was not instead a need for a quasi-province with several diocesans. The Bishop of London intimated that the Old Catholic or retired English bishops would co-operate.⁽¹⁾ The new resolutions were amended at two points on the Bishop of London's (R.W. Stopford) suggestion.^(A) The 1970 Canterbury Conference committed Europe to a single diocese,^(B) and, though it was only consultative, it recommended two essential steps in this direction: the unification of the episcopate and the formation of deanery synods.⁽²⁾ The C&CCS was represented by its chaplains and executive staff at the Conference.

APPENDIX BHome Organization

1. The Commonwealth and Continental Church Society is an Anglican Society (see Appendix C, I.2, II.1, III.2) whose membership is open to annual subscribers of one guinea and upwards (Appendix C, I.4). A General Meeting of members is held annually to review the foregoing years work, receive the Annual Report^(A) and Accounts, and elect an Executive Committee to conduct the Society's business (Appendix C, I.1, 12,8). Provision is made for a Treasurer and Secretaries and a Board of Patronage, all of whom are ex-officio members of the Committee (Appendix C, I.1,3,9). King William IV bestowed his patronage on the Society in 1834⁽¹⁾ and since then it has enjoyed the patronage of successive sovereigns.

The two parent Societies were founded by laymen who then formed the majority on their Committees. Samuel Codner (founder and first Secretary of the NSS) began systematic visiting and preaching to found branch Associations.^{(2)(B)} The effectiveness of the Society was considered to depend on the productiveness of these Branches.^{(3)(C)} Eleven were established in the first year and within six years the number had risen to fifty-four.⁽⁴⁾ In the first year of the CCS eleven Associations were formed.⁽⁵⁾ It is clear that the aim of both parents and their daughters was to supply information which would rouse spiritual interest and therefore financial support for their work abroad. Clergy were requested to allow the use of their pulpits for deputation purposes⁽⁶⁾ and to preach for the Society in the pulpits of others.⁽⁷⁾

The 1826 Report of the NSS remarked on the loss of income and suggested the appointment of a 'clerical' secretary to visit the associations systematically, and to ensure steady and permanent support.⁽⁸⁾ Two years later the Report indicated that such visiting was imperative and that such an appointment should be delayed no longer.^{(9)(D)}

Occasional Papers of the NSS were published from 2 January 1832 and gave information respecting the Society's operations and in order to encourage regular subscribers.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Colonial Church Record of the CCS was first published in 1838 to embody information transmitted by the Society's missionaries and other correspondents abroad.⁽¹¹⁾ A journal - the 'Greater Britain Messenger' - was issued from April 1877,⁽¹²⁾ which ran to 467 issues (December 1959) when it was succeeded by the 'Outpost' and later the 'Intercom'.

After amalgamation in 1851 under the Rev.M.Thomas there was a period of steady growth, and the country was divided into areas and

Association Secretaries were appointed to raise funds.⁽¹⁾ Their average length of service was five years and they formed an uninterrupted feature of the work.⁽²⁾ A lay Secretary was appointed in March 1856 and his duties to assist the clerical Secretary were stated in the Minutes of the CCSS for 18 March 1856.

The Society was incorporated under the Charitable Trusts Incorporation Act of 1872 on 1 April 1887.⁽³⁾

As the Society grew so did the volume of work and sub-committees were established like the Continental Committee. From time to time Committee structures were revised to handle the increased load but the powers of the Executive Committee have never changed.

Women were active in support of the Society as far back as 1825.⁽⁴⁾(A) However the first lady Deputation Secretary (Miss Woolmer)^(B) was appointed in 1895, and an Editorial Secretary (Miss Dibdin) and in the same year a central Ladies Association was formed in London.⁽⁵⁾ A young people's Association was also formed in connection with it. The ladies held missionary exhibitions, sales of work and drawing room meetings,⁽⁶⁾ and visited Sunday schools.⁽⁷⁾ By 1898 there were fifty-seven branches and 1,200 members.⁽⁸⁾(C) By the turn of the century honorary County secretaries were being appointed.⁽⁹⁾ A lady candidates committee was established under its auspices.⁽¹⁰⁾

On Miss Woolmer's retirement in 1913 the children's department was separated from the Ladies Association and became known as 'Young Empire Builders'.⁽¹¹⁾(D) By 1917 the Ladies Association was responsible for twenty-three of the Society's grants, the Saskatoon hostel and the Sunday School by Post as well as women's work (it was promoting a scheme for women's ministry in Australia).⁽¹²⁾ By 1931 three ladies were to be elected to the General Committee of the Society.⁽¹³⁾

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2. Secretaries of the NSS

- 1823 G.R. Robinson, Samuel Codner, Percival White (honorary)
- 1829 Francis Jickling
- 1831 The Rev. Daniel Wilson (honorary), Rev. William Marshall
- 1833 Rev. J. Hazlegrave
- 1839 Major F. Gordon (joint)
- 1844 Rev. C.G. Smith (full-time)
- 1845 Rev. D. Cooke
- 1847 Rev. Henry Deck (resigned 1850)

Secretaries of the CCS

- 1835 (ACMS) John Wood

1837 C.W. Francken
 1838 Capt. E.A. Cotton
 1839 Rev. W. Chave (resigned 1850)

Secretaries of the CCSS, subsequently the CCCS and C&CCS

1851 Rev. M. Thomas (afterwards Bishop of Goulburn)
 1862 Rev. L. Borrett White
 1873 Rev. F.J.C. Moran (joint)
 1879 Rev. Dr. E. Forbes (honorary)
 1881 Rev. D. Lancaster McAnally
 1882 Rev. W. Walsh (honorary joint)
 1888 Rev. Canon J. Hurst
 1900 Rev. J.D. Mullins
 1926 Rev. F. Bate
 1947 Rev. G.O. Lightbourn
 1950 Rev. Canon G.H. Williams
 1958 Rev. Canon S.J. Harland
 1962 Rev. J.R. Hassett
 1967-71 Rev. F.H. Crook

3. Premises occupied by the Society

<u>NSS</u>	1823	13 Salisbury Square
	1831	5 Exeter Hall, Strand
	1836	4 Exeter Hall, Strand
	1848	14 Chatham Place, Blackfriars
<u>CCS</u>	1837	13 Exeter Hall, Strand
	1838	5 Exeter Hall, Strand
	1847	4 Serjeants Inn, Fleet Street
<u>CCSS</u>	1851	4 Serjeants Inn, Fleet Street
	1853	9 Serjeants Inn, Fleet Street. (Purchased 1873 - Minute, General Committee, CCCS, 18 December 1873; destroyed by enemy action on the night of 10-11 May 1941 - Minute, General Committee, CCCS, 20 May 1941)
&	1941	CMS House, 6 Salisbury Square (temporary)
	1946	13 Victoria Street (rented - Minute, General Committee, CCCS, 19 February 1946)
<u>CCCS</u>	1959	6 Holborn Viaduct (for a short time only owing to the demolition of 13 Victoria Street)
	1959	7 York Buildings, Strand

4. Presidents

<u>NSS</u>	1823	The Earl of Bathurst (Colonial Secretary)
	1834	The Lord Bexley
<u>CCS</u>	1835	The Lord Teignmouth
	1837	The Lord Barham
	1841	The Earl of Gainsborough
<u>CCSS</u>	1851	The Marquis of Cholmondeley
	1870	The Marquis of Cholmondeley (brother and heir on death of former Marquis)
&	1884	Vacant on death of the Marquis of Cholmondeley and lapsed
	1931	Revived with the Rt. Hon. Sir T.W.H. Inskip (Attorney- General and later Viscount Caldecote)
<u>CCCS</u>	1947	The Rt. Hon. the Lord Luke of Pavenham

APPENDIX CThe Constitution of the Society

1. The Constitution of the Newfoundland Schools Society (1823 Report, NSS, pp.8f)
 1. This Society shall be designated the Newfoundland Society for Educating the Poor.
 2. The Schools shall be managed by Masters and Mistresses of the United Church of England and Ireland, and conducted as nearly as circumstances may permit, on Dr. Bell's system.
 3. This Society shall consist of a Patron, Vice-Patron, President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, or Secretaries, and also of Governors, and Life and Annual Members, and such other officers as may be deemed necessary for conducting its affairs.
 4. Each subscriber of One Guinea annually, or upwards, shall be a member.
 5. Each subscriber of Ten Guineas, or upwards, shall be a member for life.
 6. Each subscriber of Five Pounds annually, or of Twenty Guineas at one time, shall be a Governor, and entitled to attend and vote at all the Meetings of the Committee.
 7. An Executor paying a bequest of Fifty Pounds, or upwards, shall be a Member for Life.
 8. The business of the Society shall be conducted, and all the Officers appointed by a Committee of not less than Twelve; of whom Nine, who shall be attended the greatest number of times during the year, shall be eligible for the ensuing year.
 9. The Patron, Vice-Patron, President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and Secretaries, shall be considered ex-officio members of the Committee; the ordinary Meetings of the Committee shall be held once every month.
 10. Three Members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum; and in case of equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.
 11. Five Auditors, three of them not being Members of the Committee, shall be appointed by the Committee annually, for the purpose of Auditing the Accounts of the Society, of whom three shall be a quorum.
 12. A General Meeting of the Members of the Society shall be held in London annually, on the Third Tuesday in May, when the proceedings of the foregoing year shall be reported, the Accounts presented, and a Committee chosen.
 13. A Special General Meeting of the Society may be called at any time, at the requisition of the General Committee, or any nine Members, by letters addressed to the Secretary.
 14. Ten days notice of all General Meetings shall be given in at least

three Newspapers. Those Members of the Society who reside within the limits of the Three-penny Post, shall be summoned by letter to attend; and when such General Meetings are Special, the object of them shall be mentioned in the summons.

15. At all General Meetings, and at those of the Committee, the Patron or, in his absence, the Vice-Patron, or should he be absent, the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President first upon the list who may be present, or in the absence of all the Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, and in his absence, such Member as shall be voted for that purpose, shall preside at the Meeting.

16. None of the laws of the Society shall be repealed or altered, nor any new law established but at the Annual General Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose.

In 1831, Number 2. was altered to include 'or of the Established Church of Scotland' after the word 'Ireland'.^(A) (1831 Report, NSS, p.v.) The NSS established Associations to promote its objects and the Rules are to be found in the 1823 Report, NSS, p.10. Later, in 1829 Auxiliaries were established. The difference between the two appears to be that Auxiliary Societies enjoyed greater autonomy, they were the Society in miniature. The rules governing these are to be found in the 1829 Report, NSS, p.11. (see Appendix B, p.175, and Note C)

A further change was made in the constitution in 1846 when the Society became the Church of England Society. Laws 3-6 read as follows:

3. No person shall be appointed Superintendent of the Society's schools who shall have been formally disapproved of by the Bishop of the Diocese in which he is to act. 4. The Schoolmasters and Catechists of the Society shall be licensed by the Bishop; their appointment and removal, and respective salaries resting with the Committee. 5. The parochial or missionary clergy shall have free access to the Schools. 6. The Bishop shall be visitor of all the Society's schools within his Diocese. (1846 Report, NSS, Statement, p.9)

One more revision was made in 1849 and the following alterations must be noted. 1. ...their appointment, removal and respective salaries resting with the Committee. 3. No books shall be used in the Society's Schools except with the previous knowledge and approval of the Committee. 4. The Superintendents and masters shall be laymen, and shall so continue during their connection with the Society. (1849 Report, NSS, p.v.)

II. Regulations of the Colonial Church Society (1837 Report, CCS, p.iv)

The Regulations of the Australian Church Missionary Society (1836 Report, ACMS, p.iv) are identical with the CCS, except in place of 'Bishop of the Diocese' read 'Bishop of Australia' and in place of 'the Colonies' read 'Australia'.

1. The Management of the Society is to be under the direction of persons who are Members of the United Church of England and Ireland.
2. The selection and appointment of Missionaries and Catechists is to rest entirely with the Committee of the Society, subject, as to those Missionaries sent from England, to the approbation of the Bishop of London, and, as to those appointed in the colonies, to that of the Bishop of the Diocese; and that such Missionaries and Catechists be subject to the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese.
3. The Missionaries are to be ordained Ministers and the Catechists laymen of the United Church.
4. The Affairs of the Society in the Colonies shall be conducted by Corresponding Committees,^(A) nominated by the General Committee at home, and any vacancies that may be supplied on the spot shall also be subject to the approval of the General Committee, and that the Bishop of the Diocese shall (if so disposed) be considered (ex-officio) a Member of the several Corresponding Committees of the Society in his Diocese.
5. The field of labour of each Missionary and Catechist shall be determined by the Committee, or with their sanction by the Corresponding Committees, subject to the approval of the Committee at home.

The laws governing the method of administration were along the same lines as those of the NSS, with the additional provision of an Annual Sermon and a printed Annual Report. The Committee membership comprised twenty-four lay members and all clergymen of the United Church who were members of the Society.

Vital changes were made to these General Regulations in 1842. (1842 Report, CCS, p.v) Number 3 became number 2, and the clause in number 2 relating to episcopal approval was omitted and 2 then became number 3. Control was assumed directly by the Home Committee in the first instance, so that regulation 4 then read, 'The affairs of the Society in the Colonies shall be conducted by the General Committee at home, or by Corresponding Committees nominated or approved by them, and the Bishop of the Diocese shall, if so disposed be President of the several Corresponding Committees in his Diocese'; and 5 read, 'the field of labour of each Missionary, Catechist, and Schoolmaster shall be determined by the General Committee, or by the Corresponding Committee subject to their approval.'

III. Constitution of the CCSS (1850 Report, CCSS)

1. The Society shall be designated the Colonial Church and School Society the object of which shall be to send clergymen, catechists and schoolmasters to the colonies of Great Britain, and to British residents in other parts of the world.^(A)
2. The management of the Society shall be under the direction of persons who are members of the United Church of England and Ireland, and all the agents of the Society shall likewise be members of the same.
3. The selection, appointment, removal and field of labour of all the agents, together with the amount of their respective salaries, shall rest entirely with the Committee of the Society. The clergymen employed by the Society shall be subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of their Diocesans, and the schools shall be open at all times to the visits of the Diocesan, and the parochial and missionary clergy in their respective districts.
4. The religious instruction in all schools maintained wholly or in part by the Society, shall be in the Holy Scriptures, and (except in cases where the parents or guardians of the children formally object) in the formularies of the Church of England; and no books shall be used in the Society's Schools except with the approval of the Committee.
5. The affairs of the Society in the Colonies shall be conducted by the General Committee at home, or by Corresponding Committees nominated or approved by them; and the Bishop of the Diocese shall, if so disposed, be President of the several Corresponding Committees in his Diocese.

The rules and regulations underwent revision (which did not involve any change in principle or practice) of obsolete phrases by the Committee on 10 March 1903, and amendments were printed in the Report for 1902. The new constitution differentiated between Rules (changes of which had to be voted at the General Meeting) and Bye-Laws (which the Committee could frame, since they concerned the conduct of its business) - see Rule 13, Minutes of the General Committee, CCCS, 10 March 1903. Certain of the bye-laws related to grants: Colonial - 8. 'The Society's object, where possible is to contribute enough to make the grantee independent of all sources of income other than funds raised locally.': 9. 'Ordinary grants are made for one year, and shall be revised annually...non renewable grants may be given for special purposes.': 10. (Grants for pastoral work after being in operation for two years, shall be automatically reduced at the rate of not less than ten percent per annum, but this reduction may be suspended if...injurious to the work.' Continental - 14. 'All Continental chaplains shall be licensed by the Bishop of London or the

Bishop of Gibraltar'; 15. 'Appointment...shall be subject to notice on either side as may be agreed upon at the time of appointment';

16. 'No gift offered for the service or ornament of the church or room shall in any case be accepted by the chaplain without the sanction of the Society having been previously obtained from the Secretary'; 18. 'The Society does not, out of general funds, make grants, but only loans, for the purchase of sites and the building of churches.' (Agreed by Committee, 10 March 1903, accepted and printed in the Report for 1902).

Bye-laws were altered from time to time but a further constitutional change was agreed by Committee on 29 April 1918, and accepted by the General Meeting, to elect twelve friends or supporters annually to life governorship. (1918 Report, CCCS, p.40). Further constitutional amendments dated 5 May 1948, 7 May 1952, 7 May 1958 and 15 March 1960 have been made. These retained clauses relating to the respective authority of Bishop and Society; 15. 'The selection, appointment and field of labour of all the agents, together with the amount of their respective salaries, shall be subject to the approval of the Committee of the Society. The clergymen employed by the Society shall be subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction of their Diocesans; and the schools shall be open to the visits of the Diocesan, and of the parochial and missionary clergy in their respective districts'; 17. 'The affairs of the Society in the colonies shall be conducted by the Committee at home, with the assistance of the Corresponding Committees nominated or approved by them; and the Bishop of the Diocese shall, if so disposed, be President of the several Corresponding Committees in his Diocese.'

One further revision was made as from 2 July 1968 retaining clause 15 of the 1960 constitution relating to authority, but deleting clause 17 relating to the conduct of affairs in the Commonwealth.

APPENDIX D

The Bishops given to the Church by the C&CCS

Daniel Wilson	(Calcutta 1832-58) ⁽¹⁾ Committee member and honorary Secretary of the NSS.
J. Harding	(Bombay 1851-69) ⁽²⁾ former Committee member.
Mesac Thomas	(Goulburn 1863-92) ⁽³⁾ formerly Secretary of the CCSS.
Isaac Hellmuth	(Huron 1871-83) ⁽⁴⁾ formerly Organizing Secretary, Superintendent in the Colonies, afterwards assistant Bishop of Ripon.
John McLean	(Saskatchewan 1874-87) ⁽⁵⁾ sent out as an ordinand in 1858, Secretary of the Corresponding Committee.
W.B. Bond	(Montreal 1879-1906) ⁽⁶⁾ agent from 1840, afterwards Primate of All Canada.
W.Ridley	(Caledonia 1879-1904) ⁽⁷⁾ formerly permanent chaplain on the Continent.
E. Nuttall	(Jamaica 1880-1916) ⁽⁸⁾ formerly Secretary of the Corresponding Committee.
I.O. Stringer	(Selkirk/Yukon 1905-31; Archbishop of Rupertsland 1931-4) ⁽⁹⁾ formerly agent in Whitehorse.
J.G. Anderson	(Moosonee 1909-44) ⁽¹⁰⁾ formerly agent in Dynevor.
G.F.C. de Carteret	(co-adjutor Jamaica 1912-16; Bishop 1916-31) ⁽¹¹⁾ former Committee Member.
E.F. Robins	(Athabasca 1912-32) ⁽¹²⁾ sent out by the Society.
A.D. Dewdney	(Keewatin 1921-38) ⁽¹³⁾ formerly Lecturer Emmanuel College 1906-21.
G.E. Lloyd	(Saskatchewan 1922-31) ⁽¹⁴⁾ agent from 1891, deputation Secretary.
W.T.T. Hallam	(Saskatchewan 1931 but became Saskatoon on the reorganization of the Diocese - 1949) ⁽¹⁵⁾ former Principal of Emmanuel College.
S.J. Kirkby	(co-adjutor Sydney 1932-5) ⁽¹⁶⁾ first Secretary BC-AS.
W. Burd	(new Diocese of Saskatchewan 1933-9) ⁽¹⁷⁾ sent to Emmanuel College, the first Emmanuel man to become a bishop.
W.F. Barfoot	(Edmonton 1941-53) ⁽¹⁸⁾ was lecturer at Emmanuel College 1926-34, warden of St. John's College, Winnipeg 1935-41, elected Bishop in 1941 and became Primate of All Canada in 1951. In 1953 he was translated to Rupertsland as Metropolitan - he held office as Metropolitan and Primate until 1960.
J.B. Gibson	(Caledonia 1945-53) ⁽¹⁹⁾ former Emmanuel College student.
D.B. Marsh	(The Arctic 1950 - holds office) ⁽²⁰⁾ sent out 1922, student of Emmanuel College.
R.J. Pierce	(Athabasca 1950 - holds office) ^(A) former Emmanuel College student.
S.C. Steer	(Saskatoon 1950 - holds office) ⁽²¹⁾ sent to Emmanuel College 1922 afterwards Principal.
F.H. Wilkinson	(Toronto 1955 and holds office) ⁽²²⁾ was lecturer at Emmanuel College 1925-8.

- R.S. Dean (Cariboo 1957 - holds office)⁽¹⁾ was Principal of Emmanuel College 1951-6, afterwards Executive Officer of the Anglican Communion.
- T.E. Jones (Willochra 1958 - holds office)⁽²⁾ was trained by the Society at Ridley College, Melbourne, later Organizing Missioner of the BC-AS.
- G.B. Muston (co-adjutor Melbourne 1971 - holds office)⁽³⁾ was former Organizing Missioner of the BC-AS.

APPENDIX E

The C&CCS and other Societies and Churches

1. Home Based Societies

A letter was received (dated 4 February 1857) from the Rev. T.A. Walrond (Secretary of the 'Society for Promoting Missions to Seamen Afloat') making propositions that the CCSS should surrender its sailors missions entirely, subsidize this new society until it was able to finance the work completely, or relinquish the chaplaincies gradually as the Missions to Seamen was able to afford them. The letter was presented to the Committee on 10 February 1857 after a deputation from the Seamens Mission was asked to put their proposals in writing. The Committee expressed sympathy but resolved that it was impracticable to sever the seamens work from its general work, and this minute was communicated to the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong), who wrote to the CCSS stating that it was inexpedient to form a new Society and asking for the views of the Committee before he wrote himself in answer to a letter from Walrond.⁽¹⁾ The Spanish and Portugese Church-Aid Society used the CCCS Church of the Ascension in Seville for services among Spanish Protestants.⁽²⁾ Archbishop Lord Plunkett who was a central figure in the Spanish movement was a Vice-Patron of the CCCS, and had frequent and friendly contact with it.⁽³⁾ It was proposed in 1948 that the CCCS should undertake the administration of the Spanish and Portugese Church-Aid Society, but a decision was deferred until in January 1949 the request was withdrawn.⁽⁴⁾ An agreement between the CCCS and the Church Association (now the Church Society) was reached in 1914 respecting the uniting of the two congregations in Dusseldorf, whereby the appointment was made by an equal number of representatives of both Societies; the candidate to be presented by CCCS for the Bishop of London's licence; and both Societies were to be involved financially.⁽⁵⁾ The CCCS financial involvement increased in 1959 on condition of approval of the candidate, that the chaplain would report occasionally to the C&CCS, and that future appointments should have the consent of the C&CCS Committee.⁽⁶⁾ The C&CCS later requested the Church Society to transfer the patronage.⁽⁷⁾ The question of the systematic and economic re-adjustment of the European chaplaincies in 1931 brought the CCCS into co-operation with the SPG in exploring areas (like South West France) where chaplaincies might be amalgamated and worked by a chaplain serving the Societies jointly. Recommendations were made for the joint working of some of the chaplaincies.⁽⁸⁾

2. Churches Abroad

The Society has engaged in ecumenical activities with other

Churches. The English chaplain at Boulogne shared the work of the Sailors Institute with the Methodists in 1868.⁽¹⁾ The chaplain of Milan held joint worship with a Vaudois minister and a minister of the Free Italian Church.⁽²⁾ A suggestion was made in 1886 for joint sponsorship (Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian) of a chain of homes for Indian children in Canada.⁽³⁾ The chaplain at Roubaix (1873) wrote of the considerable influence of the English on the growth of French Protestantism in the four northern Departments of France. The French Church of St. Pierre, Calais was a development of the English work, and at St. Quentin, long after the English disappeared, a congregation of 2,000 French flourished.⁽⁴⁾ The development of the Dutch Hospital Church Ships (Nederlandsche Vereeniging ten behoeve van Zeelieden van elke Nationaliteit Hospitaal Kerk Schip) early in 1898 further illustrates the influence of the English on Continental Protestant life. The English chaplain at Amsterdam founded this Dutch Society for fishermen and sailors to care for the English as well as the Dutch when the work required more help than the chaplain could give.⁽⁵⁾ Help was given to the German Confessional Churches (mainly Lutheran) in placing pastors and their wives, who had to leave Germany, in positions in other churches - some were placed in Emmanuel College, Saskatoon.⁽⁶⁾ The Old Catholics were granted the use of the English Church at Langen-Schwalbach and Bad Nauheim, and it was agreed to sell to them the Church in Munich but to retain the right to use it. £2,800 of the £5,000 sale price was paid before Hitler forbade the transfer of money.⁽⁷⁾ Ootacamund (South India) became associated with the Church of South India with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury (G.F. Fisher) in 1955.⁽⁸⁾ In the summer of 1968 the ecumenical centre of St. Marc in Grenoble was opened, and the CCCS shares this with the Eglise Réformée de France and the Roman Catholic Church.⁽⁹⁾

A letter dated 22 December 1851 was received from the Secretary of the Portugese legation requesting a copy of the regulations under which the Society's schools in the colonies were conducted, because the Government of Portugal wanted it with a view to the organization of schools in that country.⁽¹⁰⁾

APPENDIX F

List of Bishops Co-Adjutor of London for North and Central Europe

J.H. Titcomb	(formerly Rangoon) 1884-6
T.E. Wilkinson	(formerly Zululand) 1886-1911
H. Bury	(formerly Honduras) 1911-26

List of the Bishops of 'Fulham' (Suffragan of London for N & C Europe)

B.S. Battey	1926-46	(resigned)
W.M. Selwyn	1947-9	(resigned)
G.E. Ingle	1949-55	(translated to Willesden)
R.W. Stopford	1955-7	(translated to Peterborough, then London in 1961)
R.N. Coote	1957-66	(translated to Colchester)
A.F.B. Rogers	1966-70	(formerly Mauritius, translated to Edmonton)
J.R. Satterthwaite	1970	holds office.

From 1970 the Bishopric of Fulham has been held with Gibraltar.

Footnotes

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- A. On 20 March 1957 the Committee resolved to submit a motion to the General Meeting of members in 1958 to substitute 'Commonwealth' for 'Colonial' in the Society's name - to take effect on 1 July 1958. This was carried and became effective on that date.
- B. Responsibility was assumed by the Missionary Society of the Church of Canada from January 1954. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 21 July 1953)
- C. By resolution of the College Council (18 March 1954) it was to assume full financial responsibility after nearly 40 years in September 1954. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 22 April 1954)
- D. He was succeeded by the Rev.FHW Crabb, Vice-Principal of the London College of Divinity. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 11 April 1957)
- E. This made for greater safety and effectiveness. (1953 Report, CCCS, p.8)

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- A. Later Organizing Missioner (1963-8). (The RA, BC-AS, March 1963, p.1)
- B. He was trained by the Society at Ridley College (1924), and was connected with BC-AS from 1932, first as Secretary in Victoria, then from 1934 as Organizing Missioner. (The RA, BC-AS, Sept. 1958, p.2)

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- A. St Michael and St George, Kringa. (1958 Report, CCCS, p.5)
- B. There were 2,000 patients and 300 staff in 10 hospitals. (1959 Report, C&CCS, p.4)
- C. This was happening in India too, where, for example, Panchgani School was transferred to a Diocesan Schools committee in order that the Christian foundation could be preserved under the new regime of Indianization. (1959 Report, C&CCS, p.12)

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- A. The Heligoland scheme has been referred to (see p.115). The Munich Conference of chaplains in 1911 devoted a day to discussing the suggestion of the chaplain at Pau to separate North and Central Eupopæ from the Diocese of London, and to create three new dioceses: Western Europe, Gibraltar; Central Europe (including Malta and Russia); Greece and Scandinavia. A resolution was addressed to the Bishop of London calling for prompt and earnest consideration. (Forward and Postscript to Ostend 1969 and Canterbury 1970, Conference of Anglican Churches in Europe, 1970)
- B. It is interesting to note the American initiative ! The American Bishop stated at the Brussels conference of chaplains in 1929 that his Church was prepared to help the Church of England on the Continent to provide for the spiritual needs of the Americans there. (Min.General Committee, CCCS, 19 November 1929) A chaplain in Geneva wrote to the Society (2 February 1875) suggesting that American ministers of various denominations should fill certain vacancies to prevent rivalry, and the establishment of independent American chaplaincies. The Committee replied that this course was impracticable since they could only appoint those licensed by London or Gibraltar. (Min.Continental Committee, CCCS, 9 February 1875) The Question was raised again (15 May 1888) relating to ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the USA, and the Committee resolved that, as a precedent existed for a 'permanent' appointment, applications would be considered. (Min. General Committee, CCCS, 16 May, 6 June 1888) In 1878 the Bishops of Ohio and Long Island became Vice-Presidents of the Society. (1878 Report, CCCS, p.2)

- C. Consisting of the Bishop and one clerical and two lay members of each jurisdiction. (Memorandum to the Convocation of American Churches in Europe, February 1970, p.3)
- D. The 1968 Lambeth Conference Resolutions and Reports (Resolutions 63 and Report on p.44 of the Lambeth Report) suggested the ultimate integration of existing ministries and congregations with the Continental Churches with which we are in full communion: viz, the Old Catholics, the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church and the Lusitanian Church of Portugal.
- E. Recommendations: '1. One Anglican diocese in Europe with one episcopal administration. 2. served by two bishops, of whom the senior would be alternately British and American with 3. a Synod, and 4. one headquarter 5. in Brussels, Geneva or Paris.
Resolutions: 1. That immediate action be initiated by the Bishop of Gibraltar and the Bishop Suffragan of Fulham to secure the creation of a Diocese of Europe. 2. That the Presiding Bishop of PECUSA be requested to appoint forthwith a full-time resident Bishop-in-charge of the American Churches in Europe to share a combined headquarters and to work with the British Bishops appointed to the Diocese of Europe as a step towards the complete unification of the three existing Anglican jurisdictions in Europe, and 3. that prompt steps be taken to ensure that the Bishops concerned be given double commissions from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the American Presiding Bishop so that they can serve in common and in the closest co-operation.' (A Draft Report of the Meetings of the Council of Anglican Churches in Europe, October 15-16, 1969, pp.2f)
- F. 1. That the Presiding Bishop of PECUSA appoint a full-time resident bishop. 2. That the Archbishop of Canterbury in consultation with the Bishop of London give temporary jurisdiction over Gibraltar to the Bishop of Fulham. 3. That they set up their joint headquarters in Brussels and 4. see note E, resolution 3.

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- A. See p.173, note F. Resolution 2. substitute 'a bishop' for 'Bishop of Fulham' (made general to avoid dictating to the Archbishop of Canterbury). Adding 5. that deanery synods should be set up as soon as possible for appropriate areas. (Conference of Anglican Churches in Europe, Fulham Jurisdiction Meetings, Addresses and Debates, D.17) In France, where the three jurisdictions are at present independent and parallel, the deanery unit would coincide with the national unit. (Conference of Anglican Churches in Europe, Plenary Sessions, C.17)
- B. American and Fulham Jurisdictions carried nem con; Gibraltar majority 26:9 with no abstentions. (Conference of Anglican Churches in Europe, Plenary Sessions, c.21)

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- A. The Report covered the period from April to April, e.g. 1823-4. But the Reports have been referred to by the first chronological year - e.g. as 1823 Report which was published in 1824.
- B. Branch Associations were a leading feature of the Evangelical Societies and really began in 1813 with Basil Woodd of the CMS. (Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, p.145)

C. Rules for Associations of the NSS.

1. 'That the object and constitution of the NSS have our cordial approbation. 2. That it is expedient to form ourselves into an Association...the endeavour of which shall be to promote the object of the above Society, by soliciting donations and subscriptions in its favour. 3. That this Association shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary; and a Committee...4. That this Association shall furnish the Committee of the Parent Society, on or before the 1st April in each year, with a short statement of its proceedings, including an abstract of its cash account, with a remittance for the balance.' (1823 Report, NSS, p.10) The 1829 Report stated rules for an Auxiliary Society which enjoyed greater autonomy: 'that they establish proper agents and correspondents in different parts within the limits of the Auxiliary Society' and these agents may form Associations.

Rules for Associations of the CCS are first given in the 1840 Report, pp.viiiif. The object was 'to call forth the zeal of christians in general, and especially of the members of the Church of England, in support of the CCS; to promote its objects and proceedings, and the formation of Branch Associations; to procure collections, subscriptions and other contributions and to give to the Parent Society information where more than ordinary destitution prevails, either as regards pastoral superintendence or the education of the young.' (this last clause was omitted for those established at home)

- D. It was considered impracticable 'to keep alive, much more to increase any general interest, without visiting the Associations periodically, and making known through them the success as well as the wants of the Society to the country at large. Without such an agency the principal source of your revenue will gradually dry up...from this cause alone, symptoms of declining interest have appeared, clearly showing that the appointment of a travelling or clerical Secretary can be no longer postponed.' (1828 Report, NSS, pp.48f) However the first full-time clerical Secretary of the NSS appears to be the Rev.CG Smith. (1844 Report, NSS, p.28) The CCS appointed the Rev.W Chave in 1839 (1839 Report, CCS, p.38), and in 1843 a Travelling and Association Secretary (the Rev.SH Meyrick) was appointed. (1843 Report, CCS, p.50) The rules governing the travelling and preaching ministry are to be found in the minutes of the Committee of the CCS, 17 December 1839 (616) and 15 June 1841 (1,050).

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- A. Samuel Codner proposed a motion of appreciation of their work at the General Meeting in 1826. (1825 Report, NSS, p.8)
- B. A memorandum on the relations between the Association Secretaries and the Ladies Association, and the functions of the Ladies Association Secretary is contained in the Minutes of the General Committee of CCCS, 21 May 1912 and 21 June 1932.
- C. By 1911 there were 200 Branches and 4,000 members. (1911 Report, CCCS, p.46)
- D. A senior Branch was inaugurated in 1930 and was later called the 'Fellowship of the Trail.' (1930 Report, CCCS, p.46; 1954 Report, CCCS, p.14)

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- A. This change was made because of circumstances in the Canadas, and in preparation for an advance there. (1831 Report, NSS, p.9)

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- A. Rules for the formation and guidance of Corresponding Committees of the CCS: 1. Annual appointment on 1 January is subject to approval of parent Committee. 2. Created by parent Committee by nomination or approval of a 'provisional' committee submitted to it. 3. One third are to be clergymen. 4. Powers of these committees were to include co-option (subject to approval of the parent Committee), formation of 'Auxiliaries' and 'Associations' to collect funds and otherwise to further the objects of the Society, to authorize expenditure and audit accounts to be sent with a subscriptions list to the parent Committee, and to direct and control expenses (except fixed salaries) paid out of funds of the parent Association. Amounts were not to be exceeded. (These were drafted on the model of the CMS regulations, Min.637, CCS, 21 January 1840)

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- A. This descriptive phrase was introduced into the constitution of the CCS in 1839, and it was retained in 1851 when the CCS was amalgamated with the NSS and became the CCSS. It was subsequently amended as follows: 1857 - read 'teachers' for 'schoolmasters', and add 'on the Continent of Europe and' after 'residents'; 1859 - read 'sojourners' for 'residents'; 1861 (CCCS) the phrase read 'for supplying clergymen, catechists and teachers to British residents and sojourners in the colonies, on the Continent and in other parts of the world'; 1903 - for 'catechists' read 'lay-evangelists'; and 1968 it read 'to send clergymen, lay-workers and teachers to British residents and other English-speaking visitors abroad.'

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- A. The Report for 1956, p.11 refers to six Canadian Bishops who were graduates of Emmanuel College. Three have been accounted for - Burd, Marsh and Steer have been traced in the Reports. Further, RJ Pierce (Athabasca) has been discovered through a personal conversation with the Rev. E Harrison, a student of Emmanuel College in the 1920s.

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[Abbreviations: Rep. = Report; OP = Occasional Paper; CCR = Colonial Church Record; Min. = Committee Minute; Gen.Min. = Minute of General Committee; Cont.Min. = Minute of Continental Committee; GBM = Greater Britain Messenger; FSM = Fugitive Slave Mission; RA = The Real Australian]

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- I.1.1. Newfoundland Society for the Education of the Poor (1823-9). Newfoundland and British North American Society for Educating the Poor (1829-46). This was a change of name in 1829 to anticipate the extension of work to the colonies of British North America but actually undertaken in 1838. The Church of England Society for Educating the Poor of Newfoundland and the Colonies (1846-51). This was a further change of name owing to further extension of work after 1846. Reports, volumes 1, 2, 4.
- I.1.2. Colonial Church Society (1835-50). It was founded under the name of the Western Australia Missionary Society but, within its first year, it became the Australian Church Missionary Society which continued to 1837. Expansion of work led to a further change of name in 1838 to the Colonial Church Society. Reports, volumes 3 & 4.
- I.1.3. Colonial Church and School Society (1 January 1851). This Society resulted from the amalgamation of the Church of England Society and the Colonial Church Society. Reports, volumes 4 & 5.
- I.1.4. Colonial and Continental Church Society (1861 and following). On 1 May 1861 the Society became known as the Colonial and Continental Church Society for supplying clergymen, catechists and teachers to British residents and sojourners in the Colonies, on the Continent and in other parts of the world. This is still the legal name of the Society since its incorporation under the Charitable Trustees Corporation Act (1872) does not permit a change of name. However, the word 'Commonwealth' was substituted for the word 'Colonial' in the title on 7 May 1958. Reports, volumes 6-26 (1861-1957) and thereafter published separately each year. Abstracts only were printed after 1932, and were discontinued after 1963.

All these are lodged in the Society's Archives in 7 York Buildings, Strand, London WC 2. There are Reports of the 'Mission to the Free Coloured Population in Canada' (Fugitive Slave Mission), a branch of the Society's operations, bound with the Annual Reports in volume 7 (1866-70) and placed after the years 1866 & 7.

I.2. Occasional Papers

These were pamphlets to inform supporters of the peculiar character and situation of the colonists and of the activities of the Society's agents abroad. They are largely extracts of correspondence and give evidence of the usefulness of the Society's agents. They were

published twice per annum. Numbers 1-5, 7-12 for the years 1841-6 are bound with the Reports in volume 3, pp.726-785; numbers 14, 15 (1847-8) are to be found in volume 4, pp.379-394 of the Colonial Church Society Reports; numbers 16-20 (1851-6) are also to be found in volume 4, pp. 1,347-1,402 of the Colonial Church and School Society Reports. Volume 4 also contains some episcopal testimony to the Colonial Church and School Society, pp.1,335-46.

The Colonial Church Record numbers 3-9 (Oct 1838-Feb 1840) are bound in volume 3 of the Reports, pp.788-907. Numbers 1 (containing the speeches of the General Meeting in 1838 when its ministry became world-wide) and 2 are missing.

Appeals (1851-6) are bound in volume 4 of the Reports, pp.1,403-55.

The Fugitive Slave Mission's Occasional Papers numbered 1-5 (Feb 1854-Aug 1856) are bound in volume 4 of the Reports, pp.1,503-1,606)

I.3. Minute Books

The following Minute Books (handwritten to 20 June 1950, and thereafter typed) are held in the Society's Archives in London. The Minutes of the Colonial Church Society (8 January 1839 to 5 September 1842) are incomplete and may have been destroyed with the Society's office during the last war. Minutes of the Colonial Church and School Society (27 December 1850 to 1 May 1861) are in volumes 1 and 2. The first page of volume 1 contains the Minutes of the Special General Meeting to effect the amalgamation of the Church of England Society and the Colonial Church Society. Minutes of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (1 May 1851 onwards) in 14 volumes. Minutes of the Continental Committee from 7 November 1856 (when it was set up) to 11 March 1885 (when it was amalgamated with the General Committee) in 5 volumes. There is one volume of the Minutes of the Continental sub-committee dating from 10 October 1900 to the 12 November 1907. This committee concerned itself with appointments only.

I.4. The Journal of the Society

The Greater Britain Messenger was first issued in April 1877 and ran to 467 issues until December 1959. There is a complete set from January 1922 (261) to December 1959 (467), but between 1876-1921 the following only are held in the Archives: 1-26, 85-139, 141, 151, 162-183, 185-6, 188-194, 200, 202-5, 206-16, 210, 219-27, 228-231, 233-5, 237-8, 239-49, 250, 252-60. To 1921 there were 11 issues per annum; from 1922 they were issued bi-monthly and from 1952 quarterly.

The Outpost appeared bi-monthly in 1960 replacing the Greater Britain Messenger and there were 11 issued altogether. The Intercom

was issued from 1962 bi-monthly and appeared unnumbered. From October 1970 it was issued quarterly.

I.5. Occasional Pamphlets

These are booklets and monographs which were produced from time to time. Also 'General Notes about the British Empire, together with some Account of the Work of the CCCS!', CCCS, London 1922.

I.6. The Real Australian

The Real Australian in the Journal of the daughter Society in Australia: the Bush Church~~2~~Aid Society, founded in 1919. The following issues are held in the Archives in London: 31, 33-4, 37-8, 40-~~5~~, 47-54, 56-75, 79-86, 87-90, 92-4, 96-113 (December 1951). New Series 1-42 (December 1962) are unnumbered from May 1963 to June 1971.

One can only surmise that much of the material missing was lost when the building was destroyed. The Annual Reports, Minutes and Miscellaneous papers of the C & C C S and its predecessors were microfilmed in 1953 and 64 for the Public Archives of Canada from the originals lodged in the Society's headquarters in London. The microfilms are owned by the M'Gill University Library, 2459 McTavish Street, Montreal, PQ, (file no.71-29862/3468, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario).

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